THREE

ESSAYS, &c.

THREE
ESSAYS
OR
DISCOURSES

On the following SUBJECTS,

A Defence or Vindication of the WOMEN,

CHURCH MUSIC,

A Comparison between Antient and Modern

MUSIC.

TRANSLATED FROM THE

SPANISH of FEYJOO;

BY A GENTLEMAN.

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A

DEFENCE

OR

VINDICATION OF THE WOMEN.

SECT. I.

I. I Enter upon a ſerious and difficult undertaking; in the proſecution of which, it is not one ignorant vulgar perſon only I ſhall have to contend with, for ſetting about to defend all the women, amounts to pretty near the ſame thing as reſolving to offend all the men, there being ſcarce one among them, who, in order to give precedence to his own ſex, does not endeavour to bring the other into diſeſteem; and to ſuch an extravagant length, has this cuſtom of abuſing and vilifying the women by common conſent been carried, that in a moral ſenſe they load them with defects, and in a phyſical one with imperfections, and will

ſcarce allow them to poſſeſs a ſingle good quality: but they lay the greateſt ſtreſs on the ſcantineſs or limitation of their underſtandings; for which reaſon, after briefly vindicating them in other reſpects, I ſhall diſcourſe more at large on their aptitude for attaining all ſorts of ſcience and ſublime knowledge.

II. The falſe prophet Mahomed, denied the women entrance into that ill-laid-out and abſurdly-diſpoſed paradiſe, which he had deviſed and appropriated to be poſſeſſed by his followers, limiting the felicity of the females to beholding from without, the glory and happineſs enjoyed by the men within; and it certainly muſt give the women great pleaſure, to ſurvey their huſbands in that ſcene of delights, compoſed all of turpitudes, claſped in the arms of other conforts, which were feigned to be newly created for this particular purpoſe by that great artiſt in fabricating chimeras. Such a delirium being admitted and received by a great part of the world, ſufficiently ſhews to what a degree mankind are capable of running into error.

III. But it ſeems as if theſe, who deny the women almoſt every kind of merit in this life, do not differ much from thoſe who deny them happineſs in the next. The moſt turpid among the vulgar

vulgar very frequently repreſent that ſex as having a moſt horrible propenſity to vice; and would inſinuate, that the men are the ſole repoſitories of virtue. It is certainly true, that you will find theſe ſpecies of ſentiments, loudly trumpeted forth in an infinite number of books; in ſome of which, the invective is carried to ſuch a point, as ſcarcely to admit there is one good woman, and aſſerting, that their bluſh, which has been generally conſidered as an addition to their beauty, and a token of modeſty, is the effect of the lewdneſs of their ſouls.

Aſpera ſi viſa eſt, rigidaſque imitata Sabinas
Velle, ſed ex alto diſſimulare puta.

Inſtead of replying to ſuch inſolent malevolence, the beſt method is to treat it with contempt and deteſtation. Not a few of thoſe, who are moſt addicted to paint the ſex in the blackeſt colouring, have been obſerved to be the moſt ſolicitous about obtaining their favour and good graces. Euripides, who was exceedingly ſatyrical upon them in his tragedies, as Atheneus and Stobeo inform us, was exceſſively fond of them in private. He execrated them on the theatre, and idolized them in the chamber. Bocace, who was exceſſively addicted to women, wrote a ſatyr againſt them, entitled, The Labyrinth of Love.

What was the myſtery of this? Why it moſt probably was, that, under the diſguiſe of having an averſion to them, he endeavoured to conceal his paſſion for them; or it might be, that the brutal ſatiety of the turpid appetite had brought-on a loathing, which cauſed every thing appertaining to the other ſex to appear hateful and diſguſting. This ſort of abuſe, may alſo ſometimes proceed from a refuſal to lend a kind ear to entreaties and ſolicitations; for there are men ſo malevolent, as to be capable of ſaying a woman is not good, becauſe ſhe has refuſed to be bad. This unjuſt motive for complaint and reſentment, has ſometimes vented itſelf in the moſt cruel acts of revenge; an example of which may be inſtanced in the unhappy fate of that moſt beautiful Iriſh lady madam Douglaſs, againſt whom, William Leout was blindly irritated, for having refuſed to comply with his lewd ſolicitations. To be revenged, he accuſed her of high treaſon; and procured the calumniating and falſe charge to be proved by ſuborned witneſſes. She ſuffered capital puniſhment; and la Mota de la Vayer, who (in his Opuſc. Scept.) gives the relation, ſays, that Leout himſelf afterwards confeſſed the falſity of the accuſation, and the wicked means uſed to prove her guilty.

To this inſtance, may be added that of a moſt virtuous and beautiful French lady, the marchioneſs of Gange. Her two brothers-in-law made diſhonourable propoſitions to her, and ſucceſſively tried many arts, to prevail on her to gratify their baſe inclinations; but, notwithſtaning one of them, who was an extreme cunning man, and governed the marquis her conſort entirely, threatened to inſtil into the mind of her huſband ſuſpicions of her fidelity, ſhe vigorouſly rejected their entreaties. Finding themſelves, in ſpite of the menace, repeatedly repulſed with ſcorn and indignation, they reſolved to carry the threat into execution; and, having prevailed on the credulous huſband to entertain doubts of his wife's honour and conſtancy, he conſented that the two brothers ſhould take away the life of the innocent marchioneſs; which they did in a barbarous and cruel manner, by firſt forcing her to ſwallow a poiſonous draught, but afterwards, doubting of the efficacy of the potion, they gave her ſeveral deſperate wounds. Although ſhe ſurvived both the wounds and the operation of the poiſon for the ſpace of nineteen days, and, by means of her relation of the matter, which was corroborated by other circumſtances, the officers of juſtice and the public were informed of the whole tranſaction, and meaſures were taken for apprehending the delinquents; yet they, finding themſelves diſcovered, fled the king-

dom, and eſcaped the puniſhment due to their crime. This tragical event happened in the year 1667, and is related by Gayot Piteval, in his fifth volume of Remarkable Caſes.

IV. I don't deny that many of them are vicious; but, alas! if we were to trace their ſlips and irregularities to their ſource, I fear we ſhould find them originate in the obſtinate and perſevering impulſe or ſolicitations of our ſex. He, who would wiſh or endeavour to make all the women good, ſhould begin with converting all the men. Nature implanted modeſty in the ſex, as a fence-wall to reſiſt the attacks of appetite; and it very rarely happens, that a breach is made in this wall by force applied on the inſide.

V. The declamations againſt the women, which we read in ſome parts of holy writ, ſhould be underſtood, as pointed and levelled at the perverſe ones, as there is no doubt but there are ſuch; and, although they ſhould be ſuppoſed to have an eye to the ſex in general, nothing could be inferred from thence; becauſe the phyſicians of the ſoul declaim againſt women, as the phyſicians of the body declaim againſt fruit, which, although it is good, beautiful, and uſeful in itſelf, the abuſe or exceſs of it is pernicious: beſides, this allowance ſhould be made for the latitude permitted to oratory,

oratory, of magnifying the riſque, when it is uſed to divert or turn people from dangerous courſes.

VI. Let them, who ſuppoſe the female ſex to be more vicious than ours, tell me, how they can reconcile this with the church having, in an eſpecial manner, beſtowed on them the epithet of devout? How with the words of many of the moſt grave and eminent doctors, who have declared it as their opinion, that there are more women ſaved than men, even having regard to the proportion, in which it is generally thought the number of females exceeds that of the males? which opinion, they do not, nor cannot found on any other thing, than their having obſerved in them a greater inclination to piety.

VII. Methinks I already hear, in oppoſition to our undertaking, that propoſition of much noiſe, and little or no truth, that the women are the cauſe of all evil; and, by way of proving it, the vulgar, down to the meaneſt and moſt contemptible of them, endeavour to inculcate at every turn, that La Caba occaſioned the ruin of all Spain, and Eve that of all mankind.

VIII. But the firſt inſtance is abſolutely a falſe one. The count Don Julian was the perſon who brought the Moors into Spain, but was not per-

ſuaded to it by his daughter, who did no more than make known to her father the affront and injury ſhe had received. How unhappy is the lot of women, if, in the caſe of being trampled on by an inſolent raviſher, they are to be deprived of the relief of unboſoming themſelves to their fathers, or their huſbands! The aggreſſors, in theſe caſes, would gladly deprive them of this relief and benefit; though if at any time an unjuſt vengeance ſhould be the conſequence of the complaint, the fault would not lie at the door of the innocent offended perſon, but would reſt with him who did the execution with the ſword, and the man who committed the inſult; and thus the whole blame and crime would be imputable to the men only.

IX. If the ſecond example proves, that the women in general are worſe than the men; by the ſame mode of reaſoning it may be proved, that the angels in general are worſe than the women; becauſe, as Adam was induced to ſin by a woman, the woman was ſeduced by an angel. It is not yet decided whoſe ſin was the greateſt, that of Adam, or that of Eve, becauſe the fathers are divided in their opinions; and, in truth, the excuſe which Cayetane makes in favour of Eve, that ſhe was deceived by a creature of much ſuperior intelligence and capacity to herſelf, is a circum-

ſtance

ſtance that cannot be urged on behalf of Adam, and greatly abates her crime in compariſon with his.

SECT. II.

X. But paſſing from the moral to the phyſical, which is more applicable to our preſent purpoſe, we ſhall find the preference of the robuſt over the delicate ſex is a point ſettled, and any claim or pretenſions to equality on the part of the women is ſet aſide, and treated with contempt; and to ſuch a length has depreciating the women been carried by ſome, that they have not ſcrupled to call them imperfect, and even monſtrous animals, aſſerting, that Nature, in the work of generation, never intended to produce any thing but males, and that it was only by miſtake, or in conſequence of ſome defect in the matter or faculty, that females were produced.

XI. O admirable adepts in phyſics! It would follow from hence, that Nature conſpired to work its own deſtruction, becauſe, without the concurrence of both ſexes, the ſpecies cannot be preſerved. It would follow alſo, that Nature in this her principal work is more frequently miſtaken than right, becauſe it is allowed, that ſhe produces more women than men. Nor when we ſee females

females the offspring of parents who are healthy, robuſt, and in the flower of their age, can we attribute the formation of them to debility, want of vigour, or a defect in the matter; nor is it probable, that if man had preſerved his original innocence, in which caſe there would have been none of theſe defects, we ſhould have had no women born, and that the human lineage would have been kept up or continued without propagation.

XII. I know very well there was an author, who, for the ſake of indulging his malice, and ſuppporting his envious inſinuations againſt the other ſex, ſwallowed ſo palpable an abſurdity. This was Almaricus, a Pariſian doctor of the twelfth century, who, among other errors, aſſerts, that, if the ſtate of innocence had continued, all the individuals of our ſpecies would have been males, and that God would have created them immediately himſelf, as he did Adam.

XIII. Almaricus was a blind follower of Ariſtotle, inſomuch that all, or very near all, his errors were produced by concluſions which he had drawn from the doctrines of that philoſopher; and, ſeeing that Ariſtotle, in more than one part of his works, gives it to be underſtood, that a female is a defective animal, its generation accidental.

tal, and out of the deſign of nature, he concluded, that there were no women in the ſtate of innocence; and thus it comes to paſs, that an heretical theology is very frequently occaſioned by a miſtake in phyſics.

XIV. But the great and avowed adherence of Almaricus to Ariſtotle, was rather unfortunate to them both; becauſe the errors of Almaricus were condemned by a council held at Paris in 1209; and, in the ſame council, the reading the books of Ariſtotle were prohibited, which prohibition was afterwards confirmed by Pope Gregory IX. Almaricus had been dead a year when his dogmas were proſcribed; but his bones were afterwards dug up, and thrown into a jakes.

XV. This ſhews, that we ſhould not lay any great ſtreſs upon the opinion of a few doctors, who, though they were in other reſpects diſcreet men, have aſſerted, that the female ſex is defective, for no other reaſon than becauſe Ariſtotle, whoſe followers they were, had declared ſo; but they did not however proceed ſo far, as to precipitate themſelves into the error of Almaricus. It is certain, that Ariſtotle's treatment of the women proceeded from ſpite; for he not only proclaimed with vehemence their phyſical defects, but was more vehement ſtill in blazoning their moral ones;

ones; ſome inſtances of which I ſhall point out in another place. Who would not ſuppoſe from all this, that his diſpoſition inclined him to ſhun the ſex? But nothing was ſo oppoſite to him, for he not only tenderly loved two wives which he married, but his affection for the firſt, named Pythais, who, as ſome ſay, was daughter, others niece of Hermias, tyrant of Atarneus, carried him ſo far beſide himſelf, that he franticly offered incenſe to her as a deity. They alſo give us a relation of his looſe amours with a little ſervant girl, though Plutarch does not incline to credit the tale; but in this buſineſs, the teſtimony of Theocritus Chio, who was contemporary with Ariſtotle, ought to have more weight than the opinion of Plutarch, who was much poſterior to him; and Theocritus, in a lively epigram, laſhed Ariſtotle for his obſcenity. From this inſtance we may perceive, that mens' ſeeming malignity to, and inveterate abuſe of women, is, as we have obſerved before, frequently accompanied with an inordinate inclination for them.

XVI. From the ſame phyſical error which condemned woman for an imperfect animal, there ſprung another theological one, which is combated by St. Auſtin, in Lib. 22, de Civit. Dei cap. 17. The authors of this ſyſtem ſay, that, at the univerſal reſurrection, this imperfection is to be

be remedied, by converting all the women into men; and that then grace is to compleat and finiſh the work which nature had only begun.

XVII. This error is very like that of the infatuated Alchymiſts, who, relying on the maxim, that nature, in the formation of metals, never intended to produce any thing but gold, and that it was only from ſome obſtruction, or from ſome defect of vigour and virtue, that ſhe fabricated other imperfect metals; alſo pretend, that art is afterwards capable of carrying the work to perfection, and making gold of that which was originally brought forth Iron. But, after all, this error is the moſt ſufferable of the two, becauſe it does not interfere with matters of faith; and becauſe alſo, let the intention of nature in the formation of metals, and the imaginary capacity of art, be what they will, it is a fact, that gold is the moſt noble of metals, and that the others are of a much inferior quality compared to it. But, in our preſent queſtion, the aſſertion, that Nature always intended the production of males, and that her producing females was the effect of a baſtard operation, is all falſe and erroneous; and much more ſo is the affirming, that this is to be amended at the reſurrection.

SECT.

SECT. III.

XVIII. I would not, however, be underſtood to approve of what is thrown out by Zacuto Luſitano, in the introduction to his Treatiſe De Morbis Mulierum, where, with frivolous reaſons, he attempts to give the preference to the women, and to perſuade us, that their phyſical perfections greatly exceed thoſe of the men. Such an opinion might be ſupported by much more plauſible arguments than are uſed by him; but my view is not to perſuade a ſuperiority, but only an equality.

XIX. And to begin, ſetting aſide the queſtion of their underſtandings, which I mean to diſcuſs ſeparately and more at large in this diſcourſe, let us conſider the three endowments in which the men ſeem manifeſtly to have the advantage of the women, to wit, robuſtneſs, conſtancy, and prudence; but, although this ſhould be granted by the women, they might pretend to a competition, by pointing out other three qualities in which they excel the male ſex, to wit, beauty, gentleneſs, and ſimplicity.

XX. Robuſtneſs, which is a bodily perfection, may be conſidered as counterpoiſed by beauty, which is ſo likewiſe. Many people are diſpoſed

to give the laſt the preference; and they would be right, if that was to be eſteemed the moſt valuable, which is the moſt flattering or pleaſing to the ſight: but the conſideration of which is moſt uſeful to the public ſhould, in the eye of ſound judgment, weigh moſt in deciding the queſtion; and, viewing the thing in this light, robuſtneſs muſt be preferred to beauty. The robuſtneſs of men, furniſhes the world with three moſt eſſential benefits, which may not improperly be termed the three columns which ſupport every ſtate, to wit, arms, agriculture, and mechanics. From the beauty of women, I don't know what important advantage can accrue, unleſs it comes by accident. Some will argue, that beauty, ſo far from producing benefits, occaſions ſerious miſchiefs, by cauſing unruly amours, which inflame and excite competitions and ſtrife, and which involve thoſe, who are charged with the cuſtody of women, in cares, uneaſineſſes, and anxiety.

XXI. But this accuſation, as it originates from a want of reflection, is ill-founded; for ſuppoſing, for argument's ſake, that all the women were ugly, in thoſe who were blemiſhed with the feweſt deformities, we ſhould experience the ſame attraction, which we do at preſent in the handſome ones, and they would conſequently occaſion the ſame miſchief. The leaſt ugly placed in Greece would

would have cauſed the burning of Troy, as Helen did; and placed in the palace of King Roderigo would have been the ruin of Spain, as La Caba was. In thoſe countries where the women are leaſt tempting, there are not fewer diſorders than there are in thoſe where they are more genteel, and more admirably formed: even in Muſcovy, which in numbers of handſome women exceeds all the other kingdoms of Europe, incontinence is not ſo unbridled as in other countries, and conjugal faith is obſerved there with more exactneſs than it is in other places.

XXII. Beauty therefore of itſelf, is not the cauſe of the miſchiefs which are attributed to it; notwithſtanding which, in the preſent queſtion, I muſt give my vote in favour of robuſtneſs, as I eſteem it a much more important quality than beauty, and therefore, in this particular, muſt give the preference to the men. There is, however, ſaved and remaining to the women, if they chuſe to avail themſelves of it, an objection to this deciſion, which may be founded on the judgment of many learned men, and which was aſſented to and admitted by a whole illuſtrious ſchool: this judgment, recognizes the will for a more noble faculty than the underſtanding, which is rather favourable to their cauſe; for if robuſtneſs, as being of the moſt conſequence, is, in the general opinion,

nion, moſt prized and valued, beauty, as the more amiable quality, has moſt control over the will.

XXIII. The virtue of conſtancy, which ennobles the men, may be contraſted with docility, which is reſplendent in the women. But it will be proper here to remark, that we do not treat of theſe or other qualities, as formally conſidering them in the ſtate of virtues, becauſe in this ſenſe they are not of the lineage of nature, but only as they are grafted into, and diſplay themſelves in the temperament or habit; and, as the embryo of information is indifferent to receive good or bad impreſſions, it would be better to call them flexibility, or inflexibility of diſpoſition, than conſtancy or docility.

XXIV. I may be told, that the docility of women degenerates many times into levity; to which I anſwer, that the conſtancy of men as frequently terminates in tenaciouſneſs. I confeſs, that firmneſs in a good cauſe is productive of great benefits; but it can't be denied, that obſtinacy in a bad one is alſo productive of great evils. If it is argued, that an invincible adherence to good or evil is a quality appertaining to angels only; I anſwer, that this is not ſo certain, for many great theologians deny it; and many properties, which in ſu-

perior beings ſpring from their excellence, in inferior ones proceed from their imperfection. The angels, according to the doctrine of St. Thomas, are the more perfect, the fewer things they underſtand; in men, their knowledge being confined to a few particulars, is conſidered as a defect. In angels, ſtudy would be regarded as a diminution of, or a reflection upon their underſtandings; although it is known to be abſolutely neceſſary, to illuſtrate and adorn thoſe of men.

XXV. The prudence of the men, may be balanced by the ſimplicity or gentleneſs of the women; and I was even about to ſay more than balanced, for, in reality, ſimplicity or gentleneſs is more beneficial to the human race, than the prudence of all its individuals; for nobody has ever deſcribed the golden age as compoſed of prudent, but of candid men.

XXVI. If it is objected, that much of that which is called ſimplicity in women is thoughtleſſneſs or inattention; I reply, that much of that which is called prudence in men, is fallacy, duplicity, and treachery, which are much worſe qualities. Even that very indiſcreet frankneſs, with which they ſometimes incautiouſly unboſom themſelves, is a good token, conſidered as a ſymptom. No perſon is ignorant of his own vices; and whoever finds himſelf loaded

with

with them to a large amount, is very careful to ſhut the crevices of his heart, to prevent the pryings of curioſity: whoever commits criminal diſorders within his houſe, does not leave his doors open at all hours, and by that means expoſe himſelf to be detected. Reſerve is the inſeparable companion of a bad heart; and you may conclude, that thoſe who familiarly, and with eaſe, unboſom themſelves, have little about them they are anxious of concealing. Conſidered then in this light, the ſimplicity or candour of the women is always a valuable quality; but, when conducted with good ſenſe, it approaches to a perfection; and, when it is not, it may always be looked upon as a favourable ſymptom.

SECT. IV.

XXVII. Over and above the good qualities we have ſpecified, the women have another, which is the moſt beautiful and tranſcendent of all, to wit, their modeſty; a grace ſo characteriſtic of the ſex, that it does not forſake even their dead bodies; for Pliny remarks, that when the carcaſſes of drowned perſons float on the water, thoſe of the men ſwim with the face upwards, and thoſe of the women with the face downward.

Veluti pudori defunctarum parcente natura.

Lib. 7, Cap. 17.

XXVIII. A certain philoſopher, being aſked what tint gave the moſt graceful hue to a woman's countenance, anſwered, with much truth and perſpicuity, modeſty; and I am really of opinion, that it is the greateſt advantage the women can claim over the men. Modeſty is a ſkreen or fence, which nature ſeems to have placed between virtue and vice, and is, as a diſcreet French author obſerves, the ſhield of fine ſouls, and the viſible character of virtue: and St. Bernard extends the ſimile ſtill farther, illuſtrating it with the epithets of the precious gem of manners, the torch of the chaſte ſoul, and the ſiſter of continence; the guardian of fame, honour, and life, the foundation of virtue, the pride of nature, and the ſymbol of all honeſty (Serm. 86, in Cant.): and Diogenes ingeniouſly and properly calls it the ſymbol of virtue. In fact, this is the great and formidable bulwark, which nature has raiſed, and placed in front, to oppoſe vice, and to ſerve as a ſhelter and covering to the whole fortreſs of the ſoul; and, as Nazianzenus ſaid, when this is once ſubdued, no farther reſiſtance can be made to every kind of vicious outrage. *Protinus extincto ſubeunt mala cuncta pudore.*

XXIX. It may be ſaid, that modeſty is a ſignal preſervative againſt exterior aſſaults, but not againſt interior acquieſcence; and thus a door al-

ways is left open, at which vice may make a triumphal entry, which may be effected by the means of inviſible attacks in parts that are not ſheltered or protected by the wall of modeſty. But even admitting that ſuch a thing might happen, ſhame would ever remain a moſt valuable preſervative, and be the cauſe of preventing an infinite deal of ſcandal, and the fatal conſequences attending it. Upon ſerious reflection it will be found, that, if it does not defend totally, it is in a great meaſure a protection even againſt thoſe ſilent and ſecret aſſaults, which ſcarce ever peep out or ſhew themſelves beyond the occult receſſes of the ſoul; for internal conſentings are very rare, when they are not excited by ſome ſort of attempts, for theſe are the things which radicate criminal affections in the ſoul, and alſo thoſe which augment and ſtrengthen propenſities to vice. It is true, that without theſe ſtimulents we now and then ſee turpitude introduce itſelf into the ſpirit; but he does not ſeem to lodge there as if he was at home, or like the maſter of the houſe, but only as a ſtranger or a ſojourner.

XXX. The paſſions, without the aliment that nouriſhes them, lay very languid, and act very timidly, eſpecially in perſons who are much addicted to bluſh; and thoſe, in whom there is ſuch a frank and eaſy commerce between the boſom and

the countenance, are always under apprehenſions, leſt the moſt ſecret operations of their breaſts ſhould be expoſed to public view on the parade of their faces. In fact, if upon every occaſion, their moſt private or concealed affections are blazoned on their cheeks, the glow of the bluſh, ſeems the only tint with which the images of inviſible objects can be painted or deſcribed; and thus, the fear of being liable to have what is impreſſed in their minds read in their faces, becomes a rein, which confines and checks the dangerous ſallies of deſire.

XXXI. To this may be added, that the colour is ſo apt to riſe in the countenances of ſome of them, that they will often bluſh at themſelves. This heroic excellence, or type of modeſty, which the ingenious father Vieira celebrates in one of his ſermons, is not, as ſome coarſe ſpirits have termed it, purely ideal, but in perſons of the moſt noble ſentiments and diſpoſitions real and natural. This was well known to Demetrius Phalereus, who, when he was inſtructing the youth of Athens, enjoined them, that at home they ſhould behave with modeſty to their parents, that abroad they ſhould obſerve the ſame deportment to every one they ſaw, and that in private they ſhould preſerve a decency and a modeſt carriage even to themſelves.

SECT.

SCET. V.

XXXII. I think I have pointed out as many advantages on the ſide of the women as will balance, if not out-weigh, the qualities in which the men excel. Who now is to give ſentence in this plea? If I had authority to do it, I might perhaps pronounce a ſhort one, declaring, that the qualities in which the women excel conduce to make them better in themſelves; and that thoſe in which the men excel make them better for, or, to ſpeak more properly, of greater uſe to the public; though as I am not exerciſing the office of a judge, but only that of an advocate, the cauſe muſt for the preſent remain undecided.

XXXIII. And even ſuppoſing I had the neceſſary authority to determine, I ſhould be obliged to ſuſpend giving judgment, as it might be urged on behalf of the men, that the good qualities which are attributed to the women are common to both ſexes: I confeſs they are, but the ſame thing may be ſaid with equal juſtice with reſpect to thoſe of the men. In order not to confound the queſtion, it will be neceſſary to point out the good qualities which are more frequently found in the individuals of one ſex, and ſeldomer in thoſe of the other. I grant then that you meet with men who are do-

cile, candid, and capable of bluſhing; and I will add, that bluſhing, which is a good ſymptom in women, is a better ſtill in men, becauſe it denotes a generous nature, and much ingenuity; which John Barclay has more than once declared in his Satyricon; and it can't be denied, that the opinion of a man of his ſubtile genius, is a vote of great conſequence upon ſuch a queſtion; and although this may not be an infallible ſign, I myſelf have made ſo much obſervation in theſe matters as to be convinced, that no great expectations can be formed of a boy who is audacious and forward.

XXXIV. I ſay then, that various individuals of our ſex may be obſerved to poſſeſs the fine qualities which ennoble the other, though not with the ſame frequency; but this by no means inclines the balance in our favour, becauſe, on the other hand, the perfections the men boaſt of, being communicated to many women, have equal weight in the oppoſite ſcale.

SECT. VI.

XXXV. There have been a thouſand examples of princeſſes who were expert and able politicians. No age will ever forget the firſt woman whoſe true character hiſtory developed and reſcued from the obſcurity of fable: I mean Semiramis,

queen

queen of the Aſſyrians, who in her infancy was nurſed by doves, but afterwards ſoared ſuperior to the eagles: ſhe not only knew how to make herſelf blindly obeyed by the ſubjects her huſband had left her, but ſhe alſo made ſubjects of all the neighbouring nations, and by extending her conqueſts, ſhe likewiſe made neighbours of the moſt diſtant ones. Her empire extended on one ſide to Ethiopia, and on the other to India. Nor can Artemiſa, queen of Caria, be forgotten, who not only maintained, during her long widowhood, the reſpect and adoration of that kingdom; but, being invaded by the Rhodians, ſhe, in her own territories, by two ſingular ſtratagems with two attacks only, deſtroyed the troops of her enemies; and, paſſing ſuddenly from the defenſive to the offenſive, ſhe invaded them in her turn, and conquered and triumphed over the iſland of Rhodes. The two Aſpaſias alſo will be ever remembered, to whoſe admirable management Pericles, the huſband of one of them, and Cyrus, the ſon of Darius Notho, gallant of the other, happily and ſucceſsfully confided the government of their ſtates; as will likewiſe the moſt prudent Phile, daughter of Antipater, whom, while ſhe was a child, her father adviſed with concerning the government of the kingdom of Macedonia, and who afterwards, by her wiſe ſtratagems and great addreſs, extricated her huſband, the precipitate and flighty Demetrius,

from

from a thouſand difficulties. Livia, of fertile invention, whoſe ſubtile cunning ſeems to have been too deep for the penetration of Auguſtus, is another inſtance of female ability, for ſhe could never have had ſuch dominion over his mind, if he had known her. The ſagacious Agrippina is likewiſe another, although her arts, as ſhe unhappily employed them in promoting her ſon Nero to the throne, were fatal to herſelf and the world. Amalethunſa alſo is well deſerving of being reckoned among the women of great talents, in whom, her underſtanding all the languages of every nation ſubject to the Roman empire, was eſteemed an inferior accompliſhment, compared to the great ſkill and addreſs, which ſhe diſplayed in governing the ſtate during the minority of her ſon Athalaricus.

XXXVI. Nor, paſſing over many others, and approaching nearer to our own times, ſhould we ever forget Elizabeth of England, in whoſe compoſition, the influx of the three graces, concurred equally with that of the three furies. Her conduct as a ſovereign, would ever remain the admiration of Europe, if her vices were not ſo interwoven with her maxims of government, as to make it impoſſible to ſeparate them; and her political image, will ever preſent itſelf to poſterity, coloured, or, to ſpeak more properly, ſtained and blemiſhed with the blood of the innocent Mary Stewart,

queen

queen of Scots. Neither ſhould we forget Catharine of Medicis, queen of France, whoſe ſagacity in negotiating and maintaining a balance between the oppoſite parties of Calviniſts and Catholics, in order to ſave the crown from a precipice, reſembled the dexterity of a rope-dancer, who, mounted on a cord, by his ready art and addreſs at poiſing himſelf with the weights at the ends of his poles, ſecures himſelf from falling, and delights and amuſes the ſpectators by diſplaying the riſque, at the ſame time that he dextrouſly avoids the danger. Our own queen Iſabella, would not have been inferior to any of them, in the buſineſs of adminiſtration and government, if, inſtead of a queen conſort, ſhe had been a queen-regent. Under all this diſadvantage, when proper occaſions preſented themſelves, ſhe manifeſted by her actions, that ſhe was a woman of conſummate prudence and ability; and Lawrance Beyerlink in his eulogium of her, ſays, that no great thing was done in her time in which ſhe did not aſſiſt, or was wholly the author of. *Quid magni in Regno, ſine illa, imo niſi per illam feré geſtum eſt?* At leaſt the diſcovery of the new world, which was an event the moſt glorious for Spain that had fallen-out in the courſe of many ages, would certainly never have been effected or accompliſhed, but for the magnanimity of Iſabella, who diſpelled the fears, and vanquiſhed the ſloth of Ferdinand.

XXXVII. In

XXXVII. In fine, and what ſeems to have more weight than all the reſt, it appears to me, although I am not very certain of the computation, that among the queens who have reigned for any length of time as abſolute ſovereigns, the greateſt part of them, have been celebrated in hiſtory for excellent governors. But the poor women, are ſtill ſo unhappy, as always to have trumped up againſt this train of illuſtrious examples, a Brunequilda, a Fredegunda, the two Joans of Naples, and a few others; but, by the way, the two firſt, although they abounded in miſchief, did not want underſtanding.

XXXVIII. Nor is the world ſo univerſally perſuaded as ſome may think, that a crown does not ſit well on the head of a woman, becauſe in an iſland or peninſula, which is formed by the Nile in Ethiopia called Meroe, women, according to the teſtimony of Pliny, reigned for many ſucceſſive ages. Father Cornelius Alapide, ſpeaking of Saba, who was one of their queens, ſuppoſes, that her empire extended much beyond the limits of Meroe, and that it might poſſibly comprehend the greateſt part of Ethiopia, grounding his opinion upon an expreſſion of our Saviour, who called her queen of the ſouth, which words ſeemed to imply, that ſhe poſſeſſed vaſt dominions in that quarter. Thomas Cornelius alſo tells us, that

authors

authors were not wanting who aſſerted, that Meroe was bigger than the iſland of Great Britain, and, if ſo, the territories of thoſe queens were not very confined, though they did not extend beyond the limits of Meroe. Ariſtotle (Lib. 2. Polit. Cap. 7,) ſays, that among the Lacedemonians, the women had a great ſhare in the political government; and that their being allowed it, is agreeable to the laws given them by Licurgus.

XXXIX. In Borneo alſo, according to the relation of Mandeſlo, which may be ſeen in the ſecond volumes of Olearius, the women reign, and their huſbands enjoy no other privilege than that of being their moſt dignified ſubjects. In the iſland of Formoſa, ſituated in the ſouthern part of the Chineſe ſea, thoſe idolaters who inhabit it, have ſuch confidence in the prudent conduct of the women, that the Sacerdotal function, together with every thing which relates to religious matters, is confided wholly to them; and that, with regard to politics, they enjoy a power ſuperior to that of the ſenators, they being conſidered as the interpreters of the will of their deities.

XL. Notwithſtanding all this, the ordinary practice of nations is moſt conformable to reaſon, as it correſponds beſt with the divine decree notified to our firſt mother in Paradiſe, and to all her

her daughters in her name, which enjoins a ſubjection to the men; and we ſhould only correct the impatience, which many people ſhew at ſubmitting to female government, when according to the laws of the land they ſhould obey; and we ſhould alſo bridle that extravagant eſtimation for our own ſex, which carries us ſuch lengths, as to prefer the government of a weak child, to that of an able and experienced woman. The antient Perſians were drawn by this prepoſſeſſion to ſuch a ridiculous extreme, that the widow of one of their princes happening to be left with child at the death of her huſband, and being adviſed by their magi, that ſhe had conceived a male, they crowned the belly of the queen, and before it was born, proclaimed the fœtus king by the name of Sapor.

SECT. VII.

XLI. We have hitherto treated of political prudence only, in the diſcuſſion of which point, we have contented ourſelves with a few examples, and have omitted the many. It is needleſs to inſiſt on the ability of women in point of œconomical prudence, as every day's experience exhibits to us, houſes and families extremely well governed by women, and very badly governed by men.

LXII. We

XLII. We ſhall next proceed to conſider reſolution as a property, which the men look upon as peculiarly annexed to, or inſeparable from, their own ſex. I admit that heaven has endowed them, in compariſon to the women, with a quadruple portion of this ingredient; but not that it was given them as an exempt property, peculiarly annexed to, and belonging to their ſex only, and that the other was to be excluded from the leaſt participation of it.

XLIII. Not an age has paſſed, which has not been ennobled and graced by women of eminence and worth; and without dwelling on the heroines of Scripture, and the martyrs to the law of grace, becauſe actions, which are aided by the eſpecial intervention of a ſupernatural hand, ſhould be attributed to the divine power, and not to any natural virtue, or faculty of a ſex: I ſay, without having recourſe to theſe ſort of examples, women of heroic valour, preſent themſelves to the memory in crouds; and after the Semiramis's, the Artamiſſas, the Themires, the Zenobias, there appears an Aretaphila, the wife of Nicotratus, the ſovereign of Cyrene in Lybia, in whoſe incomparably generous nature, the greateſt fortitude of mind, the moſt tender love of her country, and the moſt ſubtile and diſcerning underſtanding, contended for the pre-eminence; becauſe, to deliver her country from the violent tyranny of her huſband, and to revenge

revenge the murder, which, for the ſake of poſſeſſing her, he had perpetrated on her firſt conſort. ſhe made herſelf the leader of a conſpiracy, and deprived Nicotratus of the kingdom and his life. Leander, who inherited all his brother's cruelty, having ſucceeded to the crown, ſhe had the valour and addreſs to rid the world of this ſecond tyrant alſo; crowning in the end, all her heroic actions, by declining to accept the diadem, which, from a grateful ſenſe of the many benefits ſhe had conferred on them, was offered to her by the Cyreneans. Denepetina, the daughter of the great Mithridates, and the inſeparable companion and partner of her father, in all his dangerous undertakings and projects, in the execution of which, ſhe manifeſted upon every occaſion, that ſtrength of mind and body, which the ſingular circumſtance of her coming into the world with double rows of teeth ſeems to have foretold at her birth; after her father was defeated by the great Pompey, ſhe was ſhut up and beſieged in a caſtle by Manlius Priſcus, where, finding it impoſſible to defend herſelf, ſhe deprived herſelf of life, to avoid ſuffering the ignominy of being made a ſlave. An Arria, the wife of Cecinus Peto, whoſe huſband having been concerned in the conſpiracy of Camilus againſt the emperor Claudius, was for this crime condemned to death; and ſhe, determined not to outlive her conſort, having ſeveral times

tried

tried in vain to beat her head to pieces againſt a wall, procured at laſt to be introduced to her huſband in priſon, where ſhe extorted from him a promiſe, to anticipate with his own hands the work of the executioner, and, by way of encouraging him to do it, immediately transfixed her own breaſt with a dagger. An Epponina, upon her huſband Julius Sabinus having in Gaul arrogated to himſelf the title of Cæſar, endured, with rare conſtancy and fortitude, unſpeakable toils; and being at laſt condemned to death by Veſpaſian, ſhe frankly and openly told him, ſhe ſhould die contented, as death would deprive her of the diſguſt of ſeeing ſo bad an emperor as him on the throne.

XLIV. And, that it ſhould not be thought the latter ages are inferior to the antient ones in reſolute and courageous women, ſee the maid of Orleans preſent herſelf, and ſtand forth compleatly armed, as the pillar, which, in its greateſt diſtreſs, ſupported the tottering monarchy of France; which ſhe did ſo amazingly, that the Engliſh and French, who were as oppoſite in ſentiments as in arms, imputed her extraordinary feats, the one to a diabolical compact, and the other to divine aſſiſtance. The Engliſh perhaps feigned the firſt, for the purpoſe of throwing an odium on their enemies; and thoſe who had the management of affairs in France,

ſuggeſted the other politically; for it was of vaſt importance, when the people and ſoldiers were ſo greatly diſmayed, to raiſe their dejected ſpirits, by perſuading them, that heaven had declared itſelf their ally, and introduced on the theatre of the world, a damſel of perſpicuity and magnanimity, as an inſpired inſtrument, which was equal to, and capable of effecting the miraculous ſuccour. A Margaret of Denmark, in the fourteenth century, in her own perſon, headed an army, and conquered the kingdom of Sweden, taking king Albertus priſoner. The authors of thoſe times, call her the ſecond Semiramis. One Marulla, a native of Lemnos, an iſland in the Archipelago, when the fortreſs of Cochin was beſieged, upon ſeeing her father ſlain, ſnatched up his ſword and ſhield; and having prevailed on the whole garriſon to follow her, ſhe put herſelf at their head, and, encouraging them by her example, charged the enemy with ſuch ardour, that ſhe drove them from their trenches, and obliged the Baſha Soliman to raiſe the ſiege: which action, the Venetian general Loredano, who was proprietor of the place rewarded, by permitting her to chuſe for a huſband, whichever of the moſt illuſtrious captains of his army ſhe liked beſt, promiſing at the ſame time, to ſettle on her and her conſort a fortune ſuitable to their rank, which he did in the name of the republic. One Blanca de Roſſi, the wife of Baptiſta Porta;

Porta, a Paduan captain, who, after defending valourouſly a poſt on the walls of Baſſano, a fortreſs in the march of Treviſina, finding the place ſuddenly taken by treachery, and her huſband made priſoner, and put to death by the tyrant Ezelinus, and perceiving, ſhe had no means left to eſcape falling a victim to the brutal paſſion of that raviſher, who was furiouſly enamoured with her beauty; ſhe threw herſelf out of the window of an upper room; but being afterwards, againſt her inclination, cured of the bruiſes ſhe received, and enduring with anguiſh and regret, under that oppreſſive barbarian, the ſhame of having been forced, ſhe, to relieve the bitterneſs of her grief, and to extricate herſelf from continuing in a ſtate of violation to her conjugal faith, deprived herſelf of life in the ſepulchre of her huſband, which for the purpoſe of doing it there ſhe had cauſed to be opened. We could inſtance many other women of heroic courage, and particularize the occaſions on which they exerted it; but, to avoid the recital appearing prolix or tedious, we ſhall omit the relation of them.

XLV. The reaſon of my not having yet mentioned the Amazons, which is a caſe ſo applicable to this matter, is, becauſe I think it will be better to treat of them ſeparately. Some authors, in oppoſition to many others who affirm it, deny

their exiſtence; but without engaging in this diſpute, we muſt allow, that much fable has been mixed with the hiſtory of the Amazons; ſuch as that they deſtroyed all their male children; that they lived in a total ſtate of ſeparation from the other ſex, and only conſorted with them once a year for the ſake of becoming pregnant. Of a piece with theſe, are the tales of their encounters with Hercules and Theſeus, and the ſuccour given to afflicted Troy by the fierce Pentheſilea, and perhaps that alſo, of the viſit of queen Taleſtris to Alexander. But with all this, againſt the teſtimony and credit of ſo many antient authors, it would be raſh to deny, that there was a formidable body of warlike women in Aſia, who went by the name of Amazons.

XLVI. But in caſe this ſhould be denied, in lieu of the Aſiatic Amazonians they deprive us of, we ſhould be ſupplied with another ſet, drawn from the other three parts of the globe, ready to ſtand forth and take their places. The Spaniards diſcovered American ones, navigating armed, on the river Maranon, which is the largeſt in the world, and to which, for this reaſon, they gave the name of the river of the Amazons. There are ſome of them in Africa, in a province of the empire of Monomotapa; and, it is ſaid, they are the beſt ſoldiers in all that territory: there are not wanting

geo-

geographers, who make Monomotapa a diſtinct ſtate from the country theſe warlike women inhabit.

XLVII. In Europe, although in no part of it, the women are military people by profeſſion, we may venture to give the name of Amazons to thoſe, who upon different occaſions, have fought in ſuch battalions or ſquadrons, as have defeated and triumphed over the enemies of their country. Such were the French women of Beauvais, who, when that city, in the year 1472, was beſieged by the Burgundians, on the day of the aſſault, united themſelves together under the conduct or command of Joan Hacheta, and vigorouſly repulſed the enemy; their captain Hacheta, having with her own hands, tumbled the perſon headlong from the walls, who attempted to erect the enemies ſtandard there. To commemorate this tranſaction, they keep an annual feſtival in that city, and the women on the feaſt-day, have the ſingular privilege of walking in proceſſion before the men. Such alſo, were the inhabitants of the iſlands Echinadas, called at preſent Bur-Solares, celebrated for the victory of Lepanto, which was gained in the ſea of theſe iſlands. The year antecedent to this famous battle, the Turks having attacked the principal iſland, the Venetian governor Antonio Bullo, and all the men, were ſo terrified, that they

themſelves to flight in the night, leaving the women behind them, who, at the inſtance of a prieſt named Antonio Roſoneo, reſolved to defend the place; and, much to the honour of their own ſex, and the diſgrace of ours, they really did defend it.

N. B. With reſpect to the women who laid violent hands on themſelves, we don't mean to propoſe their reſolution as examples of virtue, but only to exhibit it, as a vicious exceſs of fierce courage, which is ſufficient to anſwer the purpoſe intended.

SECT. VIII.

XLVIII. After all this recital of magnanimous women, there ſtill remains ſomething to be ſaid on a particular, which the men point out as their weak ſide, and with reſpect to which, they charge them with the greateſt want of conſtancy; that is, their not being firm in keeping a ſecret. Cato the Cenſor in this inſtance, would not admit of any exception whatever with regard to them, and condemned the truſting a ſecret to any woman, be ſhe who ſhe would, as one of the greateſt errors a man could run into; but Cato's own great niece Porcia, daughter of Cato the younger, and wife of Marcus Brutus, gave the lie to this aſſertion, ſhe having

ing obliged her huſband, to confide to her the grand ſecret of the conſpiracy againſt Cæſar, by the extraordinary proof ſhe exhibited to him of her valour and conſtancy, in the great wound ſhe voluntarily gave herſelf with a knife in the thigh.

XLIX. Pliny, quoting the Magi as his authors, tells us, that the heart of a certain bird, applied to the breaſt of a woman when ſhe is aſleep, will make her reveal all her ſecrets. And in another place, he ſays, the tongue of a certain ſnake will have the ſame effect. The magicians being obliged to ſearch among the hidden ſecrets of Nature for keys to unlock the doors of their hearts, is no proof, of the womens being ſo eaſily brought to reveal what has been confided to them. But let us laugh with Pliny at theſe inventions; and let us grant if you pleaſe, that there are very few women ſtrict obſervers of a ſecret; but, in return to this, it is confeſſed on the other hand by the moſt experienced politicians, that there are very few men alſo, to whom you can confide ſecrets of importance; and truly, if ſuch men were not very ſcarce commodities, princes would not hold them in ſuch high eſtimation, as to think ſcarce any of their richeſt moveables equal to them in value.

L. Nor are there examples wanting of women of invincible conſtancy in the article of keeping a

ſecret. Pythagoras, when he found himſelf near dying, delivered all his writings, in which were contained the moſt hidden myſteries of his philoſophy, into the cuſtody of his prudent and dutiful daughter Damo; directing her at the ſame time, never to permit them to be publiſhed, which injunction ſhe ſo punctually obeyed, that, even when ſhe found herſelf reduced to extreme poverty, and could have ſold thoſe books for a large ſum of money, ſhe choſe rather to endure the anguiſh and pinchings of want, than be deficient in point of the confidence repoſed in her by her father.

LI. The magnanimous Aretaphila, whom we have already mentioned, having attempted to take away the life of her huſband by a poiſonous draught before ſhe entered into a conſpiracy againſt him, which was to be carried into execution by force of arms, was ſurprized and detected in the fact, and being put to the torture to diſcover who were her comforters and abettors, the force of the torment was ſo far from extorting the ſecret, or depriving her of the poſſeſſion of herſelf, or the uſe of her reaſon, that, after owning ſhe intended to give him the potion, ſhe had the addreſs to perſuade the tyrant it was a love-philter, and contrived for the purpoſe of increaſing his paſſion for her. In fact, this ingenious fiction had the effect of a philter, for Nicotratus's love of her was afterwards

terwards greatly increaſed, from this perſuaſion, that ſhe, who was ſollicitous to excite in him an arduous and exceſſive deſire for her, could not do otherwiſe than entertain a ſincere tenderneſs and affection for him.

LII. In the conſpiracy, ſet on foot by Ariſtogiton, and which was begun to be executed, by putting to death Hipparcus, the brother of Hippias, a courteſan woman, who had been truſted with the ſecret, and knew all the accomplices, was put to the torture, but ſhe, to convince the tyrant of the impoſſibility of extorting the ſecret from her, cut her tongue aſunder with her teeth, and let the end drop before his face.

LIII. When the firſt indications of the conſpiracy of Piſon againſt Nero, began to ſhew themſelves, many of the moſt illuſtrious men of Rome ſhrunk under, and gave way to the rigour of the torture; Lucan, for example, diſcovered his own mother as an accomplice, and many others their moſt intimate friends; and there was only one Epicharis, an ordinary and obſcure woman, who was acquainted with the whole tranſaction, on whom neither whips nor fire, nor all the martyrdoms they could invent, had power to tear from her breaſt the leaſt information.

LIV.

LIV. I knew a certain one myſelf, who, being examined by the torture, touching an atrocious crime which had been committed by her maſter and miſtreſs, reſiſted the force of that rigorous teſt, not to ſave herſelf, but only to ſkreen them; for ſo ſmall a portion of the fault could be imputed to her, either on account of her ignorance of the magnitude of the crime, or from her having acted by the command of others, and from various circumſtances of mitigation, that the law would not have condemned her to a puniſhment, any thing comparable to the ſeverity of that ſhe underwent.

LV. But of women, from whom the power of torture could not tear the ſecrets of their breaſts, the examples are infinite. I heard a perſon who had been uſed to aſſiſt upon ſuch occaſions declare, that, although he had known many of them confeſs, rather than be ſtripped naked to prepare them for the execution of the puniſhment, the inſtances of their having confeſſed after undergoing this martyrdom of their modeſty, were very rare. A truly great and ſhining excellence in the ſex this, that the regard for their modeſty, ſhould have more weight with them than all the terrors of an executioner.

LVI. I don't doubt, but this parallel I have drawn of the ſexes, may appear to many ſomewhat flattering

flattering to the women; but I ſhall reply to theſe, that Seneca, whoſe rigid Stoiciſm removes all doubts of his impartiality, and whoſe ſeverity ſets him at a great diſtance from all ſuſpicion of flattery, has made a compariſon not a jot leſs favourable to the ſide of the women, for he abſolutely aſſerts them to be equal to the men in all the valuable natural faculties and diſpoſitions. Theſe are his words: *Quis autem dicat, naturam maligné cum muliebribus ingeniis egiſſe, & virtutes illarum in arctum retraxiſſe? Par illis mihi crede, vigor, par ad honeſta (libeat) facultas eſt. Laborem, doloremque ex æquo ſi conjuevere patiuntur.* (in Conſol. ad Marciam.)

SECT. IX.

LVII. We are come now to defend the great article of all, which is the queſtion of the underſtanding; and, I muſt confeſs, if my reaſon does not aſſiſt one in arguing this point, that I expect but little help or reſource from authorities; becauſe all the authors who have touched upon the matter, with the exception of one or two particular ones only, have wrote ſo much on the ſide of the vulgar opinion, that they almoſt uniformly ſpeak of the underſtandings of the women with contempt.

LVIII. And

LVIII. And truly, I might reply to the authority of the greateſt part of theſe books, with the fable of the lion and the man, inſerted by Carducius in one of his dialogues, which is to this effect. A man and a lion travelling together, fell to diſpute, about whether lions or men were the braveſt animals: as they proceeded on their road, they came to a fountain, at the top of which, there was exhibited carved in marble, a man tearing a lion in pieces; upon ſeeing this, the man turned ſhort on the lion, and in the tone of a conqueror, aſked, if he could make any reply to ſo convincing an argument; to which the lion anſwered with a ſmile, this is very pretty reaſoning of yours, the carving was deſigned and executed by a man; we lions are none of us ſculptors; if we had, and were capable of doing this ſort of work, I will venture to aſſure you, the repreſentation would have been made quite the reverſe to what you there ſee it.

LIX. The caſe is, they were men who wrote thoſe books, in which the underſtandings of the women are held ſo cheap; had they been written by women, the men would have been placed in the inferior claſs: and there has not been wanting a woman, who has done ſomething of this ſort; for Lucretia Marinella, a learned Venetian lady, among other works ſhe compoſed, wrote a book with

with this title, *The Excellences of women, compared with the Defects and Vices of Men*; the ſole object of which, was to prove a preference of her own ſex to ours. The learned jeſuit John of Cartagena ſays, that he ſaw and read this book with great pleaſure at Rome; and that he ſaw it alſo in the royal library at Madrid; but the truth is, that neither ſhe nor we can be judges in this plea, becauſe we are parties to the ſuit; and therefore the ſentence and deciſion muſt be confided to the angels, who being of no ſex are impartial.

LX. And in the firſt place, thoſe who hold the underſtanding of women in ſuch contempt, as hardly to allow they are endued with more than pure inſtinct, are unworthy to be admitted as parties in the controverſy; neither are thoſe, who maintain, that the greateſt reach of a woman's capacity, does not extend farther than to qualify her for managing a hen-rooſt.

LXI. Some prelate, who is quoted by Don Franciſco Manuel in his Guide to married People, ſaid, that the underſtanding of the moſt knowing woman, did not exceed the bounds of ordering how a cheſt of clean linen ſhould be packed. Let thoſe who adhere to ſuch opinions, be as reſpectable as they will in other points of view, they do themſelves no ſort of credit by ſuch declarations; for

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the moſt favourable interpretation they admit of, is, that they were intended as hyperbolic jokes. It is a fact of public notoriety, that there have been women, who well underſtood the ordering and governing religious communities, and alſo women, who were equal to the government and direction of whole ſtates.

LXII. Theſe diſcourſes againſt the women, are the works of ſuperficial men; who, ſeeing they in general underſtand nothing but houſhold buſineſs, which is commonly the only thing they are inſtructed in, or employed about, are apt to infer from thence, without being aware that they draw the inference from that circumſtance, that they are unfit for, or incapable of any other matter. The moſt ſhallow logician knows, that it is not a valid concluſion, to ſuppoſe that becauſe a perſon forbears to do an act, that he is unable to do it, and therefore, from the women in general knowing no more, it can't be inferred, that they have not talents to comprehend more.

LXIII. Nobody underſtands radically and well, more than the faculty he has ſtudied; but you can't deduce from hence, without incurring the note of barbariſm, that his ability extends no farther. Sir Thomas More, in his Utopia, ſtates the following queſtion: ſuppoſe all men were to dedicate them-

themſelves to agriculture, in ſo cloſe and ſtrict a manner, as to occaſion their underſtanding nothing elſe; would this be a foundation whereon to argue and inſiſt, that they were incapable of underſtanding any other thing? With the Druſes, a people of Paleſtine, the women are the only repoſitories of the little learning that ſubſiſts among them, for almoſt all of theſe can read and write; in conſequence of which, the little literature they can boaſt of, is treaſured up in the heads of the women, and totally hidden from the men, who devote themſelves ſolely to agriculture, war, and handy-craft buſineſs. If the ſame cuſtom prevailed all the world over, the women would undoubtedly conſider the men as unfit for, or incapable of literature, in which light, the men at preſent conſider the women; and as ſuch a judgment would certainly be erroneous, in the ſame manner is that miſtaken, which we at preſent make, becauſe it proceeds upon the ſame principle.

SECT. X.

LXIV. And perhaps father Malebranche adopts the ſame mode of reaſoning; for, although he was much more benign towards the women, and in his art of inveſtigating truth acknowledges, that in the faculty of diſcerning ſenſible things, they are known to have the advantage of the men; ſtill he inſiſts

inſiſts, they are much inferior to them in the comprehenſion of abſtract ideas; and aſſigns as the reaſon of it, the ſoftneſs of their brains. It is very well known, that people ſearch for theſe phyſical cauſes, and after ſome experience, when they are, or fancy they are ſure of their effects, apply them in their own manner, to ſuit their own doctrines. This being the caſe, the conſequence which reſults from hence is, that the author himſelf falls into the ſame intellectual diſeaſe, of which he had intended to cure all mankind. This error, is produced by common pre-occupations, and principles ill conſidered and digeſted. He without doubt made this judgment, either to avoid being led away by the common opinion, or from having obſerved, that women of ability, or thoſe who are reputed ſuch, reaſon with more facility, and talk more pertinently than the men, on ſuch ſubjects as appertain to ſenſible things, and with leſs preciſion than them, (if in ſuch caſes they don't obſerve a total ſilence) on abſtracted matters; but this proceeds, not from an inequality of talents, but from a difference of application and practice. Women employ themſelves, and think much more than the men, about dainty eatables, ſetting out a table, ornaments of dreſs, and other things of this kind; from whence it happens, that they diſcourſe and talk of them more pertinently, and with greater facility than thoſe of the other ſex. On the contrary,

trary, it is very rare, that any woman attends to queſtions of theory, or beſtows the leaſt thought on the ſubject of abſtract ideas, and therefore it is no wonder they ſeem dull when the converſation turns on ſuch matters. If you obſerve them, you will find, that women who are informed, and are of a gay caſt, and who ſometimes take pleaſure in diſcourſing on the delacies of platonic love, whenever it happens that they argue with the men on this point, they greatly out-do even the moſt diſcreet ones, who have not applied themſelves to explore theſe bagatels of fancy: this in a great meaſure confirms the remarks we have made above.

LXV. In general, any perſon whatever, be his capacity ever ſo great, will appear more rude than a man of little penetration, if he talks with him of ſuch matters as the other has had experience in, and he has never applied himſelf to underſtand. A labourer in huſbandry, whom God has endowed with a moſt penetrating genius, which is no uncommon caſe, if it happens that his attention has never been fixed on any other thing but his work, would appear greatly inferior to the moſt heavy politician, if he ſhould ever chance to converſe with him about reaſons of ſtate; and the moſt wiſe politician, if he is merely a politician, who ſhould ſet himſelf to talk about the diſpoſition of troops, and the fighting of battles, would utter a thou-

ſand abſurdities; inſomuch, that if a man ſkilled in military affairs was to hear him, he would be apt to conclude he was mad, as Hannibal thought the great Aſiatic orator was, who, in the preſence of king Antiochus and him, undertook to argue about the art and conduct of war.

LXVI. It happens exactly the ſame in the buſineſs we are now treating of. A woman of excellent underſtanding, whoſe thoughts are conſtantly occupied on domeſtic management and the care of her houſe, without ſcarce ever hearing matters of a ſuperior nature talked of, or, if it does happen that ſhe hears any ſuch thing, ſhe rarely pays much attention to it: her huſband, though much inferior to her in talents, converſes frequently abroad with able men of various profeſſions, by communicating with whom, he acquires variety of knowledge, or he enters into public buſineſs, and receives important information. Inſtructed in this manner, if it happens at any time that in the company of his wife, theſe matters are talked of, ſhe, who by the means and in the way we have juſt mentioned, can gain but little aid or aſſiſtance, if ſhe happens to ſpeak juſt what occurs to her on the ſubject, from the want of inſtruction, muſt appear a little defective in point of knowledge, let her be ever ſo acute and penetrating. Her huſband, and the others who hear her, conclude from thence, that ſhe

ſhe is a fool; and he in particular plumes himſelf on his ſuperior talents and abilities.

LXVII. As it fared with this woman, ſo it fares with an infinity of others, who, though they may have much more ſenſe than the men they happen to be in company with, are condemned by them as unfit to reaſon on any kind of ſubject: but the truth is, that their not being able to reaſon at all, or their reaſoning ill on ſuch matters, does not proceed from a want of talents, but from want of being properly informed; and without this aſſiſtance, a perſon, endued with even an angelic underſtanding, could not diſcourſe pertinently on any ſubject whatever. The men at the ſame time, although inferior to them in underſtanding, ſhine and triumph over them with an air of importance, becauſe they happen to be better provided with information.

LXVIII. Over and above this advantage of being better informed, the men have another, which is of great moment, to wit, that they are much accuſtomed to meditate, diſcourſe, and reaſon upon ſuch matters, it being in a manner their daily practice; while the women hardly ever beſtow a thought on them: on which account, whenever theſe things are ſtarted in converſation, the men

are prepared to talk upon them, and the women are taken by ſurprize.

LXIX. Finally, men, by their reciprocal communication with each other upon ſuch ſubjects, gain mutual inſtruction, each individual, receiving lights and information from the obſervations and experience of thoſe they converſe with; and therefore, when they argue upon theſe matters, they not only make uſe of their own underſtandings and improvements, but they likewiſe avail themſelves of what they have acquired from their neighbours; ſo that many times, what is expreſſed and explained by the mouth of one man, is not the produce of one underſtanding only, but of many. The women, who in their ordinary converſations, don't diſcourſe on theſe ſublime queſtions, but rather of their domeſtic amuſements and emyloyments, furniſh to each other no reciprocal lights or aſſiſtance, with reſpect to theſe great points; in conſequence of which, whenever they happen to be preſent when ſuch ſubjects are agitated, you ſhould add to their talking unprepared, the diſadvantage, of each of them being confined to the uſe of no more than their own proper lights and ideas.

LXX. Theſe advantages, by means of which, a man of very ſhort penetration, may ſay much more, and much more to the purpoſe, upon noble ſubjects,

ſubjects, than a woman of great perſpicuity, are of ſuch moment, that one who has not attended to the above reflections, if he ſhould happen to be preſent at a converſation of this ſort, between a very keen woman and a very heavy man, might be apt to conclude, that he was a diſcreet perſon, and ſhe a fool.

LXXI. In fact, the want of theſe reflections has engendered in many men, and ſome of them in other reſpects wiſe and prudent ones, this great contempt for the underſtandings of women; but what is moſt laughable and ridiculous, they have exclaimed ſo much and ſo loudly againſt them, and have aſſerted with ſuch confidence the poverty and ſcantineſs of their underſtandings, that many, if not the bulk of the world, have been idle enough to believe them.

SECT. XI.

LXXII. And it ſeems to me, that not even thoſe, who approaching nearer to reaſon, admit, that though the men in general excel the women in underſtanding, ſtill own there are women of ſolid and perſpicuous parts; I ſay, not even theſe have, to my ſatisfaction, eſtabliſhed the inequality in point of underſtanding between the two ſexes. If they had attended to the circumſtances I have

before-mentioned, and which frequently occur, they would have perceived, that, in the caſes ſpecified, women, of much better underſtandings than the men they converſed with, would appear greatly inferior to them.

LXIII. Nor do I conceive, what other foundation this pretended inequality can be built on, than that I have mentioned, and the equivocation and fallability of which, I have juſt pointed out. For if I am told, the thing has been demonſtrated by experience, I am prepared with a reply, and ſhall anſwer, that the experience they alledge is deceitful, and that I have expoſed its fallacy in many inſtances; beſides this, with regard to the matter of experience, I ſhall cite two witneſſes of great credit in favour of the women. The firſt is, the ſagacious and diſcreet Portugueze Don Franciſco Manuel, who wrote a little treatiſe, called, A Guide to married People.

LXXIV. In this Cavalier, all the circumſtances that can be deſired concur, to make his vote of ſingular weight in the queſtion we are treating of; becauſe, in addition to his being a man of remarkable knowledge and information, he had travelled through many countries, where he was generally charged with and negotiated important concerns; in conſequence of which, and by means of his elevated

elevated genius and courteous deportment, he had opportunities of being introduced to, and converſing with, ladies of rank and faſhion in all places, as may be ſeen by his writings.

LXXV. It appears by this author, that, not ſatisfied with conſidering the women as equal to the men in their intellectual capacities, he inclines to allow them ſome advantage over the other ſex in this particular. In the book before quoted, fol. 73, after reciting, that the general opinion with reſpect to the women is otherwiſe; he ſays, *I am of a different ſentiment, and am certain, that many women are exceedingly judicious and ſenſible, I having ſeen and converſed with abundance of ſuch, both in Spain and other countries; and it appears to me, that, on account of their having the advantage of us in quickneſs of perception, and readineſs of repartee, it is neceſſary to uſe great caution in converſing with them:* and a little lower he ſpeaks thus; although it would be unjuſt to diſpute the purity of the metal with which Nature formed their underſtandings, we may nevertheleſs take caution to ſave and guard them in ſituations where they may be led into danger, and ourſelves may be injured. The teſtimony of this author, as I have before ſaid, is of great weight, becauſe to his great experience and diſcretion, we may add, that, in the treatiſe we have quoted, he is not very favourable

to the women; and even at the end of it, he does not ſcruple, nor is he aſhamed to accuſe himſelf of being too ſevere upon them.

LXXVI. The ſecond evidence, is that moſt learned Frenchman the Abbé Bellegrade, a man who was alſo uſed to courts, and learned his knowledge of the world in the great theatre of Paris. This author, in a book he publiſhed, intitled, *Curious Obſervations on Literature and Morality*, affirms, that the minds of women, for the purpoſe of obtaining a knowledge of all ſorts of ſciences and arts, and alſo every kind of buſineſs, are in no manner inferior to thoſe of men. I have not ſeen this author, but the editors of the memoirs of Trevoux, in the month of April 1702, quote him on the ſubject. The author of the journies in the coaches of Madrid and Alcala, who, let him be who he would, was a man of note, maintains the ſame ſentiment (pag. 45); and father Buffier, a celebrated French writer, in a book intituled, *An Examination of vulgar Prejudices*, which he wrote expreſsly for the purpoſe of doing it, proves the ſame thing.

SECT. XII.

LXXVI. Having then anſwered the arguments alledged to be built upon experience, there only remains,

remains, that they prove to us the pretended inequality by ſome phyſical reaſon. But I affirm no ſuch can be aſſigned, becauſe recourſe can only be had in this matter, either to an entative inequality of ſouls, to a diſtinct organization, or to a different temperament of the bodies of both ſexes.

LXXVIII. From the entative inequality of ſouls, nothing can be deduced, for it is a generally-received opinion among philoſophers, that all rational ſouls, in point of phyſical perfection, are equal. I well know, that ſome quote St. Auſtin as entertaining an oppoſite ſentiment, in his 15th book, chap. 13, on the Trinity; but I can't find, that St. Auſtin in that chapter, does even ſo much as touch upon the matter. I know likewiſe, that the faculty of Paris condemned a propoſition, which affirmed the ſoul of our Lord Chriſt was not more perfect than the ſoul of the treacherous Judas. To this the great Scottiſh maſter anſwered, that, as the condemnation was not confirmed by the holy ſee, we are not bound to obſerve it. In ſtrictneſs this is ſo; but I think it would be right that ſuch a propoſition ſhould be blotted out of every book in which it is found, as diſſonant, harſh, and offenſive to weak people, who in ſouls, can't diſtinguiſh the phyſical from the moral; but this does not in any manner affect the truth of the general opinion,

opinion, which aſſents to a total phyſical equality of ſouls.

LXXIX. But if we were to admit of an entative inequality of ſouls, how would they prove to us, or make us believe, that God choſe the beſt for the men, and left the leaſt-perfect for the women? We ought rather to believe in this matter, that the ſoul of holy Mary, was the beſt which could be poſſeſſed by a pure creature; and, in fact, the famous Saurez affirms, that, phyſically ſpeaking, it was moſt perfect; ſo that the women may be firm in aſſerting, that the ſoul is neither maſculine nor feminine, becauſe ſuch an aſſertion is well founded.

LXXX. With regard to organization, I am inclined to think, that the variation of it, may vary greatly the operations of the ſoul; though we don't to this day know, which organization is beſt ſuited to, or conduces moſt, to diſtinguiſhing and reaſoning well. Ariſtotle pretends, that thoſe with ſmall heads are the beſt reaſoners, a conjecture, which before he committed it to writing, he took care ſhould correſpond with the meaſure of his own. Others give their vote in favour of large heads; theſe we may conclude, are not of the little-headed race, if they had, we might ſuppoſe they would have been on the ſide of Ariſtotle. Cardinal S'frondati, in his Curſo Philoſophico, ſays,

ſays, that the reaſoning organs of cardinal Richlieu were double, to which he attributes the ſignal perſpicuity, and intellectual agility of that miniſter. I apprehend, that he muſt mean double in magnitude, and not in number, for that would be monſtrous; and this correſponds with what many others ſays, that the larger the brain is in quantity, the better people reaſon, which they collect from having obſerved, that the human brain is bigger in proportion than that of any other animal. Martinez and others, in their books of anatomy, excluding the great heads and the little ones, maintain, that thoſe of the middle ſize are the beſt-adapted for the operations of the underſtanding. Thoſe who go about taking meaſure of the members of the body, in order to compute the value of the ſoul, may ſay what they pleaſe; but experience ſhews, that among men with large heads, you will find ſome ſtupid, and others ingenious, and that the ſame thing is to be obſerved among thoſe with ſmall ones. If a difference in the magnitude of the head or the brain, was to induce an inequality in the operations of the underſtanding, we ſhould find a great difference in point of comprehenſion among men of unequal ſtature, becauſe in proportion as they were larger or ſmaller, ſo would their ſculls and brains be; but this is contrary to obſervation.

LXXXI. But with all this, and even admitting what Pliny ſays to be true, that the material ſubſtance of the brain, is larger in men than it is in women, touching which matter, I beg leave to ſuſpend my judgment, till the aſſertion is affirmed by ſome able anatomiſts; but I ſay, admitting the thing to be true, it proves nothing; for if the comprehending better, was to be governed by this material exceeding in the ſubſtance of the brain, it would follow, that an ingenious man, ſhould have forty or fifty times more brain than an ideot, and that men of large bulk, ſhould be people of much more perſpicuity than thoſe of ſmall ſtature, as we muſt ſuppoſe their brains to be in proportion to their ſize; but thoſe, he who writes this can perſuade to believe it, ſhould return him thanks, for broaching a doctrine ſo well ſuited to their capacities.

LXXXII. I agree however, that the greater or leſs degree of clearneſs, or facility of underſtanding, depends in a great meaſure upon the difference of organization; though not upon a ſenſible different organization of the larger parts, but upon the inſenſible different one of the moſt minute parts, ſuch as the different texture or firmneſs of the moſt ſubtile fibres, or the freeneſs from obſtruction, or clearneſs of the delicate paſſages through which the animal ſpirits circulate, and alſo upon the

the tenſion and elaſticity of the membranes which form thoſe paſſages; although, we can know nothing about whether theſe are different in men and women, nor can even the anatomical ſpectacles, pry into the ſecret, or aſſiſt us with ſuch a diſcernment or diſcovery; neither can the Carthefians, with all the microſcopes they are capable of inventing, explore, whether the pineal gland, which they aſſign as they ſeat of the ſoul, is of a different texture in women, from what it is in men.

LXXXIII. That a different ſenſible organization, does not produce a variety in the rational operations, is manifeſt, at leaſt, if this difference is not very enormous; there being men differently organized, who are of equal abilities; and men organized as nearly alike as poſſible, who, with reſpect to the faculties of the ſoul, are very diſſimilar. The frigid Æſop, was in every part of his body, ſo deformed and ill-ſhaped, that he ſcarce appeared a human creature; on which account, his name in ſucceeding ages, was uſed to expreſs an extreme degree of deformity; with all this, it is well known, that he was of a delicate and penetrating mind. Socrates, did not differ much from Æſop, in the irregularity of his make; notwithſtanding which, antiquity knew no man of a clearer or better underſtanding. But ſuppoſing we were to admit, that a diſtinct ſenſible organization produced

a diſtinct

a diſtinct intellectual ability, what could you in this caſe infer from it? Why nothing, becauſe women are not formed differently from men in the organs which adminiſter to, or aſſiſt, the faculty of reaſoning, but are diſtinctly formed in thoſe only, which Nature has appropriated for the propagation of the ſpecies.

SECT. XIII.

LXXXIV. Neither in the difference of temperament, can be founded the imagined inferiority of feminine underſtanding; but I don't deny, that the temperament has much influence, and conduces greatly, to the juſt or diſorderly exerciſe of the faculties of the ſoul; ſo far from it, I am rather perſuaded, that a diſtinct temperament, occaſions more variety in the operations of thoſe faculties, than a different organization: for there is no man, who muſt not have experienced in himſelf, that, according as his mind is variouſly diſpoſed, or he is in good or bad ſpirits, without finding the leaſt bodily alteration, he is more or leſs fit for all ſorts of operations; with all this, there is ſcarce an intemperance that offends the body, which does not at the ſame time, more or leſs diſturb the functions of the ſoul; but what ſpecies of temperament or diſpoſitions, conduces moſt to underſtanding or reaſoning well, it is not eaſy to aſcertain.

LXXXV. If

LXXXV. If this point is to be ſettled by the doctrine of Ariſtotle, we might conclude, the feminine temperament is beſt adapted for the purpoſe. This philoſopher, who ſubjects all the effects, which appear in the extenſive field of Nature, to the dominion of his four firſt qualities, ſays, in the 24th Sect. of his Problems, quæſt 15, that men of a cold temperament have better intellects, and reaſon better, than men of a hot temperament; notwithſtanding which, he enters upon the ſame queſtion, with ſuppoſing, that in hot climates the men are more ingenious than in cold ones, which I can hardly believe, becauſe it would follow from thence, that the Africans are more ingenious than the Engliſh or the Dutch: but purſuing the thread of his diſcourſe, and explaining the efficacy of the qualities by the power of the antiperaſtis, he affirms, that in the coldeſt countries the men are moſt ardent, and in the hot ones moſt cold. *Etenim, qui ſedes frigidas habent, frigore loci obſiſtente, longe calidiores, quam ſua ſint natura, redduntur.* He thinks people of warm conſtitutions, ſo much inferior to thoſe of cool ones with reſpect to their reaſoning powers, that he makes no ſcruple to declare, the laſt compared to the firſt, are like men whoſe heads are turned by drinking too much wine. He proceeds immediately after the words before-cited, thus: *Itaque vinolentis admodum ſimiles eſſe videntur, nec ingenio valent quo proſpiciant, rerumque rationes*

rationes inquirant. This philoſopher, when he claſſed the hot and ſtupid together, had quite forgot his diſciple Alexander, though he not only forgot, but bore him in mind at the ſame time: for it is very certain, that he wrote the greateſt part of his works, after Alexander, on account of the doubts he entertained of his fidelity had diſcarded him; and after he had retired to Athens, where he experienced a freſh diſguſt, to wit, being witneſs to Alexander's ſending without taking the leaſt notice of him, thirty talents of gold, to his ſchool-fellow Xenocrates as a gratuity; but it is doubtful, whether his reſentment carried him ſo far, as to conſpire with Antipater againſt Alexander's life, and to conſult with him, about the beſt method of carrying their purpoſe into execution by poiſon; but let us return to our ſubject.

LXXXVI. The ſame Ariſtotle teaches, and in this, all the naturaliſts and medical people agree with him, that the diſſimilarity of temperament in the two ſexes, conſiſts, in the men being hot and dry, and in the women being cold and moiſt: *Eſt autem vir calidus, & ſiccus, mulier frigida, humidaque.* Sect. 5, Queſt. 26. The cold temperament, in the opinion of Ariſtotle, being then the beſt-adapted for reaſoning, and the hot the oppoſite, and the women being cold, and the men hot, it follows, that the feminine temperament is better

united to comprehend and reaſon well than the maſculine.

LXXXVII. This proof is concluſive to thoſe who believe every thing Ariſtotle has ſaid; but I proteſt, for myſelf, that it has not the leaſt weight with me; for I neither believe, that the geniuſes are better in hot countries than in cold ones, nor that men of cold temperaments are more ingenious than thoſe of hot ones; and much leſs do I believe, that thoſe of fiery diſpoſitions are in a manner inſenſible; and as to the pretended power of the antiperaſtis, let it for the preſent remain in the ſtate of doubt, which is annexed to, and inſeparable from it.

LXXXVIII. Moiſture and dryneſs are the other two diſtinct qualities of the two compoſitions or temperaments; and by attending to them, it may alſo be inferred from the doctrine of Ariſtotle, that the women are more perſpicuous than the men. Thoſe who maintain, that the larger the quantity of the brain, the better the faculty of the underſtanding, found their opinion, upon having been taught, that a man has a larger brain in proportion than any other animal: and they argue thus, Ariſtotle ſays, that man is of a more humid temperament than any other animal. *Homo omnium animantium maxime humidus natura eſt.* Sect. 5,

Quæſt. 7. From hence, if it may be inferred, that from a man's having a larger brain than brutes, is to be imputed his having more underſtanding; in the ſame manner it may be inferred, from his being more moiſt than them, as humidity is productive of knowledge, that he knows more. A woman then is of a more humid compoſition than a man, and conſequently muſt be more intelligent than him.

LXXXIX. Although this argument proves nothing, and ought only to be uſed by way of retortion on thoſe who maintain oppoſite opinions; for the principles on which ſuch concluſions are founded, to ſpeak liberally, are uncertain and doubtful. Who told Pliny, that the brain of a man was larger than that of any other animal? Has any one, think you, undertaken the prolix labour of breaking the ſkulls of the whole ſenſative ſpecies, in order afterwards to weigh their brains? Or who told Ariſtotle, than man is more humid than any of the brute creation? Can it be ſuppoſed, that this philoſopher had ſqueezed them all in a preſs, in order to aſcertain the quantity of moiſture contained in each? There ſeems more probability in ſuppoſing, that certain domeſtic brutes, the greateſt part of inſects, and almoſt every ſpecies of fiſh, are more humid than men. Nor even admitting it to be true, that the human brain is larger in propor-

proportion than that of any other animal, could it be inferred from thence, that a greater ſhare of underſtanding in the human ſpecies is the effect of a larger portion of brain. A man in many other parts of the body, differs greatly in the proportion of his make from brutes, but an exceſs of thoſe parts, in ſome individuals, does not argue a greater degree of excellence. It would be neceſſary, in order to make this inference, to have obſerved, that, among the brutes themſelves, thoſe which had the largeſt brains, had the ſtrongeſt or beſt inſtinct; but I believe this is not the caſe, for if it was, a total want of perception would be the conſequence of a total lack of brain, which is not ſo; for, according to Pliny, there are many ſenſitive beings, without blood and without brains, notwithſtanding which, they preſerve their inſtinct.

SECT. XIV.

XC. But waiving theſe proofs, which proceed upon Ariſtotelic doctrines, which are either falſe or uncertain, and which on this account, can only be ſerviceable to the cauſe of the women, by way of retorting upon thoſe rigid partizans of Ariſtotle, who approve of all their maſter has ſaid: I ſay, waiving theſe proofs; let us proceed to enquire, if, from the cauſe of the humidity in which

a woman exceeds a man, there can be deduced any objection to her intellectual aptitude. On this ground, thoſe commonly take their ſtand, who are deſirous of proving by phyſical arguments, the inferiority of feminine underſtanding; and their reaſoning ſeems to have an air of probability, becauſe an exceſs of humour, either of itſelf, or by means of the vapour it attracts, is apt to retard the courſe of the animal ſpirits, by occupying in part, the narrow paſſages through which theſe exceeding fine ſubſtances flow.

XCI. But with all, this argument is evidently fallacious; for if it was not, it would prove, not that the minds of women were leſs diſcerning than thoſe of men, but that they were more ſlow and dull of comprehenſion than them, which is falſe; for moſt men allow, that in point of quickneſs they have the advantage.

XCII. Further; many men, who are keen, ready, and profound, abound with habitual defluxions and catarrhs, which are cauſed by a quantity of excrementitious moiſture collected in the moſt remote receſſes of the head, and within the very ſubſtance of the brain, as may be ſeen in Riberius, where he treats of catarrhs. The exceſſive humidity of the brain then, does not obſtruct the ready or right uſe of the underſtanding:

ing; and if an excrementitious moiſture does not obſtruct it, much leſs can a natural one have that effect.

XCIII. And as a reaſon why a natural one does not hinder it, we may add, that, according to the doctrine of Pliny, the brain of a man is more humid than that of every other living creature: *Sed homo portione maximum & humidiſſimum.* Lib. 11, Cap. 37. Nor is it credible, that Nature ſhould place in an organ deſtined for our moſt perfect knowledge, a temperament, capable of obſtructing, or making the operations of our reaſon ſlow and defective. If I ſhould be told, that, notwithſtanding this native humidity, in which the brain of man exceeds that of a brute, it remains tempered in the exact proportion, which is beſt ſuited to the operations of reaſon, and that the humidity of the brain of a woman exceeds that proportion; I anſwer, even ſuppoſing that humidity, by means of its natural quality, does not obſtruct, nobody knows in what proportion, or to what degree, the brain, for the beſt exerciſing its functions ſhould be moiſt; and therefore it is vague to ſay, there is a greater proportion of it in women than in men, or in men than in women.

XCIV. There may be oppoſed, however, to this doctrine of humidity the opinion of many, who

affirm, that the humid and cloudy countries produce heavy dull ſpirits; and, on the contrary, that in the bright and clear countries, are born ingenious and ſprightly ones. But be thoſe few or many who ſay this, they ſay it without more foundation, than having imagined, the clouds of the horizon are tranſlated to the ſphere of the brain; as if in rainy countries, the opacity of the atmoſphere was a dark ſhade, which obſcured the ſoul, and that in countries which are bleſt with a ſerene ſky, the greater ſplendor of the day, would communicate greater clearneſs to the underſtanding. They might, with more aptneſs and propriety, ſay, that, in the regions which are moſt bright and clear, the objects being more viſible, they, through the windows of the eyes, enter in ſuch numbers, that they diſtract the ſoul, and render it leſs fit for reflection and reaſoning; and hence it is, that, in the obſcurity of the night, we find the thread of our reaſon the leaſt interrupted, and that we deduce our concluſions with more firmneſs than in clear day-light.

XCV. Let thoſe, who maintain humid regions to be ill-ſuited to the production of ſubtile men, caſt their eyes on the Venetians and the Hollanders, who are ſome of the moſt able men in Europe: the firſt of theſe, ſtole part of their territories from the ſiſh; and the laſt, may be ſaid to live

live in lakes and bogs. Even here in Spain, we have an example of this ſort in the Auſtrians, who, notwithſtanding they inhabit a province, the moſt beſet with clouds, and the moſt ſubject to rain, of any in the whole peninſula, are generally reputed for ſubtile, ready, and expert people. But our wonder at this will leſſen, if we conſider the beavers, who live almoſt continually in the water, notwithſtanding which, Nature has produced no brutes of ſo noble an inſtinct, nor who approach ſo near to men, both in their love for them, and in the imitation of their cuſtoms: for you may read in Conradus Geſnero, that they take particular care of their aged parents, and they have been ſeen to direct men in their navigation, and to aſſiſt them in fiſhing; and there has ſuch an attention been obſerved in them to the dead, that they withdraw and conceal the carcaſſes of their defunct ſpecies, at the hazard of being devoured by other aquatic beaſts.

XCVI. On the contrary, thoſe birds, who the greateſt part of their time, breathe the moſt ſubtile pure air, and the moſt diveſted of vapours, one while fleeting on the winds, and at other times placing themſelves on the tops of mountains, ought to be more ſagacious than terreſtrial brutes; which is not the caſe.

XCVII. By the ſame mode of reaſoning, the Egyptians ſhould be the keeneſt people in the world, becauſe they inhabit under the brighteſt and moſt ſerene ſky that is to be found in all the globe. There is ſcarce a cloud paſſes over Egypt in the courſe of a year, and the land would be totally barren, if it was not refreſhed and fertilized by the waters of the Nile; and although for ſome ages, antiquity venerated that region as the ſeat of the ſciences, which is manifeſt from Pythagoras, Homer, Plato, and other Greek philoſophers, having traveled thither to improve themſelves in philoſophy and the mathematics; this does not prove, that they were more ſubtile and ingenious than other mortals, but rather, that the ſciences had gone wandering about the earth, and that ſometimes they took their ſtation in one country, and at others in another. The ſame thing may be ſaid of the valley of Lima, the inhabitants of which country, don't know what rain is, the land being fertilized by a light dew, aſſiſted by a happy temperament of air, which is neither hot nor cold; notwithſtanding which, the natives are not people of a delicate ingenuity, but rather the contrary, for the Pizarras found them more eaſy to be ſubdued by a few ſtratagems, than Cortes found the Mexicans, with all the arts he could employ, aſſiſted by the whole power of his arms.

XCVIII.

XCVIII. I am not ignorant, that the inhabitants of Boetia, were antiently looked upon, as a moſt rude, dull people, and that Bœoticum Ingenium, and Bœticaſus, were proverbial terms of contempt, and uſed to expreſs or denote, a heavy ſtupid perſon; and alſo, that this ſtupidity was attributed to the groſs atmoſphere, loaded with vapour, which prevails in that country; hence the expreſſion of Horace in one of his epiſtles; *Bœotum in craſſo jurares aere natum.* But I believe, and with ſome foundation, that the antients quoted, did not do that country juſtice; imputing the ignorance, which proceeded from want of application, to the want of capacity; and Bœotia's lying on the confines of Attica, where learning flouriſhed, ſeems to ſtrengthen this opinion; for it is hardly probable, that within ſight of a province, which is the theatre of wiſdom, you ſhould view another, which is a colony of ignorance and ſtupidity. On the other hand, it is certain, that Bœotia has produced ſome geniuſſes of the firſt rate; ſuch as Pindar, the prince of Lyric Poets, and the great Plutarch, who, in the opinion of my lord Bacon, was full equal to the firſt men of antiquity; and I ſuſpect, that by looking back to the more early times of antiquity, we ſhall find a period, in which the Bœotians, in their culture of the arts and ſciences, excelled, not only their neighbours, but all the other nations of Europe; becauſe

becauſe Cadmus, when he came from Phœnicia, was the firſt who introduced the letters of the alphabet into Greece, and was the firſt perſon in Europe, who invented the art of writing; and we learn from hiſtory, that he ſettled in Bœotia, where he founded the city of Thebes. To this may be added, that in Bœotia is found mount Helicon, dedicated to the Muſes, and from which they derive their name of Heliconides; and that from this mountain, deſcends the famous Aganipe fountain, conſecrated to the ſame fictitious deities, the water of which, they feign to have been the wine of the poets, which enraptured and inſpired them, and lighted up the fire of enthuſiaſm in their brains. It ſeems as if all theſe fictions, could have no other origin, than poetry having in ſome former time flouriſhed in that region.

XCIX. But admitting the Bœotians by nature to be rude and ſtupid, how can it be proved, that this is derived from the humidity of the country, and not from ſome other hidden cauſe; eſpecially, when we ſee moiſt or damp countries, on which this ſtigma is not fixed? Let humidity then, be acquitted of the falſe accuſation which has been raiſed againſt it, to wit, of being at war with, and an enemy to ingenuity; and let it be ſettled, that from this principle, no proof can be deduced to

aſcertain, that the women in point of underſtanding, are inferior to the men.

SECT. XV.

C. Father Malebranche, reaſons in another way, and denies the women have equal underſtanding with the men, on account of their brains being more ſoft and tender than thoſe of the other ſex. I really don't know whether what he ſuppoſes about this greater degree of ſoftneſs be true or not, but I have read two treatiſes on anatomy, and did not find the leaſt mention of it in either of them. Perhaps, from having taken it for granted, that the brains of women were more humid, he concluded they were more ſoft; but this is not always a certain conſequence, for ice is humid, and not ſoft, and melted metal is ſoft, but not humid; or perhaps, from having obſerved the women were of a more ſoft and docile diſpoſition than men, he inferred, that in their material compoſition they were the ſame; for there have been people ſo ſuperficial, as to form ideas upon theſe ſort of analogies, which afterwards, for want of due reflection, have been adopted by perſons of great perſpicuity.

CI. But taking all this for granted, I would be glad to know, how a greater degree of ſoftneſs in the

the brain, produces or occaſions, an imperfection in the underſtanding? I ſhould rather think, that on account of its being more pliable to the impreſſion of the ſpirits, it would be an inſtrument or organ, better ſuited or adapted to mental operations. This argument, is ſtrengthened by the doctrine of the author, becauſe he ſays in another place, the veſtiges or traces, which the impreſſion of the animal ſpirits leave on the brain, are the lines, with which the faculty of the imagination, forms on it the effigies of objects; and the larger or more diſtinct theſe veſtiges or impreſſions are, the greater will be the force and clearneſs, with which the underſtanding muſt perceive the objects. *Cur igitur imaginatio conſiſtat in ſola virtute, qua mens ſibi imagines objectorum efformare poteſt, eas imprimendo, ut ita loquar, fibris cerebri, certe quo veſtigia, ſpirituum animalium, quæ ſunt veluti imaginum illarum lineamenta erunt diſtinctiora, & grandiora, eo fortius, & diſtinctius mens objecta illa imaginabitur.* (Lib. 2. de Inquirenda Veritate, part i. cap. 1.)

CII. Now then, it being admited, the ſofter the brain is, with greater eaſe will the animal ſpirits make impreſſions on it, and that, for the ſame reaſon, the veſtiges or traces, will be larger and more diſtinct; they will make them with greater eaſe, and larger, becauſe the matter reſiſts leſs; more

more diſtinct, becauſe the fibres being ſomewhat rigid, they would, by means of their elaſticity, make efforts to reſtore themſelves to their former ſhape and poſition; and thus, the path or traces made by the courſe of the animal ſpirits, would be very faint, if not quite effaced. The fibres of the brain of a woman, being then more flexible than thoſe of the brain of a man, they are capable of having larger and more diſtinct images impreſſed on them, and they muſt conſequently, according to this doctrine, perceive objects better than men.

CIII. But I would not be underſtood to admit, that the women have more underſtanding than the men; I only mean to retort on father Malebranche, the doctrine, from which he pretends to infer the advantage to be on the ſide of the men, in contradiction to what in another place, he himſelf has aſſerted. My own opinion of the matter is, that, by ſuch ſort of philoſophical reaſoning, you may prove every thing, when in reality you prove nothing. Every one philoſophizes in his own mode, and if I was to write with a view of flattering, or from caprice or oſtentation, or with a deſign of making parade of my ingenuity, I could eaſily, by deducing conſequences from admitted principles, elevate the underſtandings of the women, ſuperior to thoſe of the men, by many degrees; but this

this is not my nature, or diſpoſition; on the contrary, I had much rather propound my ſentiments with ſincerity; and therefore I ſay, that neither father Malebranche, nor any other perſon, even to this day, has known the punctual actings, or ſpecific manuevres, by which the organs of the head, adminiſter to the faculties of the ſoul. We don't know as yet, how fire burns, or how ſnow occaſions cold, although they are things, which are manifeſt to our ſight and our touch; and would father Malebranche, and the other Cartheſians, perſuade us, that they have regiſtered and examined all that paſſes in the moſt hidden and remote corners of the cabinet of the rational ſoul? Neither do theſe maxims appear to me well founded, which, by reducing every thing to mechanical principles, figure to us the ſpirit, ſtamping materially the images of objects on the brain, in the ſame manner, that impreſſions are made on copper with a chiſſel. I am alſo aware of the ſerious difficulties, that are attendant on, and annexed to, the intentional ſpecies of Ariſtotle. But what is the reſult of all this? Why, that none of us have done more, than juſt touch the outſide covering of Nature. We all walk blindfold, and he is the moſt blind, who fancies he perceives things with the greateſt clearneſs, and may be compared to a ſervant of Seneca, named Harpacta, who was ſo infatuated, after having loſt all his viſual faculties,

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and having become ſtone-blind, as to fancy he could ſee. It is certain, that thoſe who live in a confidence, that they can penetrate and look into Nature, are the moſt expoſed to dangerous errors; becauſe he who walks on with much boldneſs, having but a dim light to guide him, runs the moſt hazard of falling; on the contrary, he is the furtheſt from this danger, who knowing the way is dark, proceeds with caution.

CIV. But granting to father Malebranche, and the reſt of the Carthefians, that the repreſentation of objects to the mind, is made by means of theſe material traces, which, in their courſe, the ſpirits impreſs on the brain; what follows from it is, that the brains of women being ſofter than thoſe of men, the marks, on account of the pliability of the matter, will be larger and more diſtinct in the firſt, than in the laſt; and what can be inferred from this? Why, by the doctrine of father Malebranche, you may make whichever of the two following inferences you like beſt, either that the women comprehend better than the men, or that they don't comprehend ſo well. The firſt, may be inferred from the place we a little before cited; and the ſecond, becauſe where he explains himſelf with regard to what he has ſaid againſt the women, he maintains, that the exceſſive lively imaginations, which reſult from theſe large images or

impreſſions, are unfavourable to the right comprehenſion of objects. *Cum enim tenuiora objecta ingentes in delicatis cerebri fibris excitent motus, in mente protinus etiam excitant ſenſationes ita vividas, ut ijs tota occupetur.* Lib. 2. part ii. cap. 1.

CV. But this ſecond is contrary to all reaſon, for it does not follow from this doctrine of large images, that ſmall ones do not repreſent objects well, for in ſome caſes they rather conduce to repreſent them beſt. Atoms, for example, being better ſeen through a microſcope than larger bodies, and livelineſs of imagination, if it does extend to madneſs, contributes much to a perſpicuous underſtanding of things.

CVI. But, in reality, from this greater ſoftneſs of the brain, it cannot be deduced, that the underſtandings of women are either larger or ſmaller, becauſe you can't infer from it, that the impreſſions made by the ſpirits on the organ, are bigger or leſs; which is the principle, from whence you muſt conclude both the one and the other; the reaſon is, becauſe it ſeems moſt probable, that the impulſe of the ſpirits is proportioned to the docility of the matter, and thus, that ſpirits feebly impelled, don't make a larger impreſſion on a ſoft brain, than that which is made on a more firm and tenſe one, by ſpirits which move with greater force

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and impetuoſity, in the ſame manner, that by regulating the force of your hand, you may make as ſuperficial a mark with a tool on wax, as you may on lead. My opinion of the matter is, that from this ſyſtem of the brains of women, all you can infer is, that the corporeal movements in them, are leſs vigorous than they are in men; on which account, the nerves which have their origin in the fibres of the brain, and the ſpinal marrow, have leſs power in women, or move with more feeble impulſes in them than they do in men; but not that their mental operations are more or leſs perfect.

SECT. XVI.

CVII. I think it is now time to depart from the labyrinths of phyſics, and to enter on the open and pleaſing plains of hiſtory, and to perſuade by examples, that the underſtandings of the women, are not inferior to thoſe of the men, even for the attainment of the moſt difficult ſciences. This is the beſt method, which can be fallen upon to convince the vulgar, who are generally more influenced by examples, than arguments. To recite all that occur, would be tireſome, and therefore, I ſhall only mention ſome of thoſe women, who, in theſe latter ages, have been the moſt eminently diſtinguiſhed for their learning, and who have flouriſhed

in our own country Spain, and in the neighbouring kingdoms.

CVIII. Spain, which ſtrangers hold cheap in this particular, has, to the honour of literature, produced many women, remarkably eminent for all ſorts of learning. The principal ones are thoſe which follow.

CIX. *Donna Ana de Cervaton*, lady of honour to the Germanic Queen de Fox, ſecond wife of Don Ferdinand the Catholic; ſhe was a moſt celebrated woman, but more ſo on account of her learning and rare talents, than for her uncommon beauty, which was ſo ſtriking, that ſhe was generally allowed to be the fineſt woman about the court. In Lucio Marino Siculo, may be ſeen the Latin letters which that author wrote her, and the lady's anſwers in the ſame idiom.

CX. *Donna Iſabel de Joya*, in the ſixteenth century, was eſteemed a woman of great learning. It is told of her, that ſhe preached in the church of Barcelona, to the amazement of a great concourſe of auditors. I ſuppoſe the prelates who permitted it, judged, that the injunction of the Apoſtle, which in the Firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, prohibits women to ſpeak in the church, admitted of ſome exceptions, in the ſame manner the injunc-

tion did, which prohibits them to teach in the Epiſtle to Timothy; for it is a fact, that Priſcilla, who was the companion of this ſame apoſtle, taught and inſtructed Apollo Ponticus in the evangelic doctrine, as appears from the Acts of the Apoſtles; and that afterwards paſſing to Rome in the pontificate of Paul III. ſhe, in the preſence of the cardinals, much to their ſatisfaction, explained many of the difficult paſſages in the books of the ſubtile Scotus; but what redounded moſt of all to her honour, was her having converted in that capital of the world, a great number of Jews to the catholic faith.

CXI. *Luiſa Sigea*, a native of Toledo, but of French extraction, beſides being ſkilled in philoſophy, and ſound literature, was ornamented in a ſingular manner, with a knowledge of languages, for ſhe underſtood Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and Syriac; and it is ſaid, ſhe wrote a letter to pope Paul III. in each of theſe languages. Her father, Diego Sigeo, being afterwards called to the court of Liſbon, as preceptor to Theodoſius of Portugal duke of Braganza; the infanta Donna Maria of Portugal, daughter of the king Don Manuel, and of his third wife, Donna Leonora of Auſtria, who was a great lover of letters, took much pleaſure in the company of the learned Sigea; who afterwards married with Franciſco de

Cuevas, the lord of Villanaſur, and a cavalier of Burgos, from which marriage, as Don Luis Salazar informs us in his hiſtory of the houſe of Farneze, there deſcended a fine progeny, which are now living in Caſtile.

CXII. *Donna Oliva Sabuco de Nantes*, a native of Alcaraz, was a woman of ſublime penetration, and of an elevated genius, eminent for her knowledge of phyſical, medicinal, moral, and political matters, as may be ſeen by her writings; but the thing which moſt illuſtrated and diſtinguiſhed her, was her new phiſiological ſyſtem, where, in oppoſition to all the antients, ſhe maintained, that it is not the blood which invigorates the body, but a white fluid, iſſuing from the brain, which pervades the whole nervous ſyſtem; and ſhe attributes almoſt all diſorders to this vital dew being vitiated. This ſyſtem, which the incurioſity of Spain neglected, the curioſity of England embraced with eagerneſs, and now we receive from the hands of ſtrangers as their invention, that, which in reality was originally our own. Fatal genius of Spaniards, who, in order that what is produced in their own country ſhould ſeem pleaſing to them, muſt have it firſt monopolized by ſtrangers, and afterwards by thoſe ſtrangers ſold to them again. It ſeems alſo, that this great woman was beforehand with Renard Deſcartes, in broaching the opinion, that the brain

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was the ſeat of the rational ſoul, though ſhe did not like Deſcartes, confine its habitation to the pineal gland only, but ſuppoſed it to occupy the whole ſubſtance. The confidence which Donna Olivia had in her own abilities to defend her ſingular opinions, was ſuch, that in an epiſtle-dedicatory addreſſed to count Barajas, preſident of Caſtile, ſhe intreats him to uſe his authority, to convene together the moſt learned natural philoſophers, and doctors of medicine in Spain, and that ſhe would undertake to convince them, that the phyſics, and medicinal doctrines, which were taught in the ſchools, went all on erroneous principles. She flouriſhed in the reign of Philip II.

CXIII. *Donna Bernarda Ferreyra*, a Portugueſe lady, the daughter of Don Ignatio Ferreyra, a knight of the order of St. Jago, beſides knowing and ſpeaking with eaſe various languages, underſtood poetry, rhetoric, philoſophy, and the mathematics. She left many poetical writings; and our famous Lopez de Vega, had ſuch a veneration for the extraordinary merit of this lady, that he dedicated to her his elegy, intituled **La Philis.**

CXIV. *Donna Juana Morella*, a native of Barcelona, was a woman of wonderful learning. Her father having killed a man, was obliged to fly, and carried her with him to Lyons in France, where

this extraordinary child, betaking herſelf to ſtudy, made ſo rapid a progreſs, that at twelve years of age (which was in the year 1607) ſhe defended concluſions in philoſophy publicly, which ſhe afterwards committed to writing, and dedicated to Margaret of Auſtria, queen of Spain. At the age of ſeventeen, according to the relation of Guidon Patin, who lived at that time, ſhe entered upon public diſputations in the jeſuits college at Lyons. She underſtood philoſophy, muſic, and juriſprudence, and it is ſaid, that ſhe ſpoke fourteen languages. She took the veil, in the Dominican convent of ſaint Præxedis at Avignon.

CXV. The celebrated nun of Mexico. *Sor Juana Ines de la Cruz*, is ſo well known to every body by her learned and ingenious poetical works, that it is needleſs to ſay any thing in her eulogium. I ſhall only mention, that the leaſt of her accompliſhments was her talent for poetry, although that was the thing, for which ſhe was moſt celebrated. Many Spaniſh poets, have been ſuperior to her in point of poetical genius, but perhaps no one has equalled her, with regard to her univerſal knowledge, in all kinds of faculties. Her poetry was natural, but ſhe wanted energy. In the critical part of the ſermon of father Viera, he gives her credit for her ingenuity; but to ſpeak the truth, ſhe was not equal in that reſpect, to

that learned jeſuit himſelf, of whom ſhe was the opponent; nor is there any thing extraordinary, in a woman's being found inferior to a man, who, for elevation of thought, reaſoning with perſpicuity, and explaining himſelf with clearneſs, has not yet been equalled by any preacher whatever.

CXVI. The panegyric of the late *dutcheſs of Aveiro*, is alſo needleſs, as her memory is ſtill recent at court, and all over Spain.

SECT. XVII.

CXVII. The learned ladies of France, are very numerous, becauſe there, they in general have more opportunities of ſtudying, and more time allowed them for doing it, than they have in moſt other countries; I ſhall therefore, only recite ſuch of them as were moſt famous.

CXVIII. *Suſana de Hubert*, wife of Charles Jardin, an attendant of Henry III. underſtood philoſophy and theology, and was well verſed in the writings of the fathers. She had learned the Spaniſh, Italian, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages; but her chriſtian piety, which was exceedingly exemplary, contributed more to the advancement of her true glory, than her vaſt erudition.

CXIX. *Maria de Gurnay*, a Pariſian of illuſtrious family, to whom the learned Dominic Baudio, gave the name of the Syren of France, arrived to ſuch a pitch of glory and fame, for genius and literature, that there was ſcarce a learned man of her time, who did not eſteem it a great honour to keep-up a literary correſpondence with her; and hence it was, that there were found in her cabinet when ſhe died, letters, from the cardinals Richlieu, Bentivollo, and Perron; from San Franciſco de Sales, and other enlightened prelates; from Charles the Firſt, duke of Mantua, from the Count de Ales, from Erycio Puteano, Juſtus Lipſius, Meſſrs. Balzac, Maynard, Heinſius, Cæſar Capacio, Carlos Pinto, and many other men, of the moſt ſhining parts and learning in that age.

CXX. *Madalena Scuderi*, who was called with great reaſon, the ſappho of her age, as ſhe equaled that moſt celebrated Greek lady, in the elegance of her compoſitions, and excelled her much, in the purity of her manners. She was eminent for her learning, but incomparable for her judgment and diſcretion, as her many and excellent works teſtify. Her Artamenes, or Cyrus the Great, and her Clelia, in which tracts, in imitation of Barclay's Argenis, under the figure of novels, much true hiſtory is contained, are pieces of conſummate value, and in my judgment, are preferrable

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to any thing of the kind, that has been written in France, or any other country, the Argenis only excepted. The nobleneſs of the thoughts, the harmonious combination of the narrative, the pathetic efficacy of the perſuaſion, the livelineſs of the deſcriptions, and the native purity, majeſty, and force of the ſtyle, make a compoſition, which altogether, is admirable and enchanting; to this we may add, by way of enhancing the value of the performance, that the amorous paſſages, are deſcribed with all the delicacy and decency poſſible, the moral virtues, repreſented in the moſt engaging and attractive light, and the heroic ones, with the moſt brilliant ſplendor. As a proof of the prodigious talents of this woman, the honour of having her entered as a member of their ſocieties, was induſtriouſly ſought after, by all thoſe academies, whoſe inſtitutions, allowed of admitting among them perſons of her ſex. She in the year 1671, gained the prize of eloquence in the French academy, which amounted to the ſame thing, as that truly-noble body, having pronounced her the moſt eloquent perſon in all France. The Moſt Chriſtian king, Lewis XIV. whoſe attention, no elevated merit eſcaped, ſettled on her a penſion of twelve hundred livres a year, and cardinal Mazerine had long before, by his will, bequeathed her a legacy of the ſame value, and ſhe received another donation to about the ſame amount, from the

the learned chancellor of France, Louis de Boucherat; by the help of which, ſhe was enabled to paſs through a regular, glorious, and long life, which terminated in the year 1701.

CXXI. *Antonieta de la Guardia*, beautiful both in ſhape and features, with which bodily perfections, the ſweetneſs of her diſpoſition, and the charms of her ſoul correſponded; ſo that it ſeemed as if Nature had taken pride, with reſpect to her, of uniting in one woman, all the graces of perſon, and attractions of mind. She was ſo eminent for poetry, that, at a time in which this art was much cultivated, and in high eſtimation in France, there was not any man whatever in that extenſive kingdom, who excelled her in it. Her works were collected in two volumes, which I have not ſeen. She died in 1694, leaving a daughter, the heir of her genius and accompliſhments, who won the prize for poetry in the French academy.

CXXII. Lady *Maria Madalena Gabriela de Montemar*, daughter of the duke de Montemar, and a Benedictine nun, who was born with all the natural qualifications or diſpoſitions, neceſſary for attaining the moſt abſtracted, and difficult ſciences, for ſhe was endowed with a happy memory, a ſubtile ingenuity, and a right judgment. In her early time of life, ſhe learned the Spaniſh, Italian, Latin,

Latin, and Greek languages; and at fifteen years old, being preſented to Maria Tereſa of Auſtria, queen of France, juſt at her firſt arrival in that kingdom, ſhe amazed all the court, to hear her ſpeak the Spaniſh language with elegance and propriety. She acquired a knowledge of all that is now underſtood, both of the antient, and new philoſophy, and was conſummately verſed in ſcholaſtic, dogmatic, expoſitive, and myſtic theology. She made ſome tranſlations, the moſt admired of which, were the firſt books of the Iliad. She wrote upon various ſubjects, and diſcuſſed points of morality, cricitiſm, and ſuch as related to academic matters. Her letters were held in the higheſt eſteem, and Louis XIV. received and read them with great pleaſure. She compoſed admirable verſes, though they were but few in number, and thoſe, after once reading them, ſhe uſed to throw into the fire; which was a ſacrifice, her humility induced her to make of many other of her works; and ſhe would have made it of all of them, if by friendly interpoſition, ſhe had not been prevented from following the dictates of her own inclination. Her piety, and talent for governing, ſhone forth in equal proportion to her learning; and in conſideration of theſe eminent qualities, ſhe was elected abbeſs of the congregation of Fontevralden, of the order of St. Benedict, which has this peculiarity belonging to it, that although it is compoſed of a great

great number of monaſteries of both ſexes, which are ſcattered about in four provinces, that they all acknowledge as their univerſal prelate, the abbeſs of Fontevralden, a diſtinguiſhed monaſtery, which is no leſs famous for being the theatre of nobility, than of virtue; for they reckon among their prelates, fourteen princeſſes, five of whom were of the royal houſe of Bourbon. Lady Montemar filled this high employment, much to the ſatisfaction, and edification of the world, and alſo, to the benefit and increaſe of her congregation, exhibiting a woman, commanding the men with dignity, and who, in the opinion of thoſe who were under her direction, if ſhe was not ſuperior, was at leaſt equal in point of underſtanding to the wiſeſt man living. She died in 1704, full of merit and much eſteemed.

CXXIII. *Maria Jacquelina de Blemur*, a Benedictine nun, who the moſt learned Mabillon, in Eſtud. Monaſtic Bibiliot. Eccleſiaſt. Sect. 12, tells us, compoſed a work, called the Benedictine year, of ſeven volumes in quarto; and another, intituled Eulogiums on many illuſtrious Perſons of the Order of Saint Bededict, of two volumes in quarto.

CXXIV. *Anna la Fevre*, commonly known by the name of *Madam Dacier*, daughter of the moſt learned Tanaquildo le Fevre, proved equal to her father

father in erudition, and ſuperior to him in eloquence; and alſo, in the faculty of writing with elegance and delicacy, her own language. She was a critic of the firſt rate, ſo that in this particular, at leaſt with reſpect to profane authors, there was not a man of her time, neither in France nor out of it, who excelled her. She made many tranſlations from Greek authors, which ſhe illuſtrated with a variety of comments. Her paſſion for Homer, excited her to write many diſſertations, the object of which, was maintaining the ſuperiority of the Greek poet Homer, over the Latin one Virgil, in which, the vivacity of her genius, and the rectitude of her judgment, ſhone forth with equal ſplendor; ſhe was chiefly ſtimulated to do this, from a deſire of replying to, and confronting Monſ. la Mote, who was a member of the French academy, and of a contrary opinion; this ſhe did ſo well, that ſome partizans of the Latin poet, who had ſided with Monſ. la Mote, could not deny, that his judgment in compariſon of her's, had but little weight, for want of his having a competent knowledge of Greek, the language Homer wrote in, which his opponent underſtood to perfection. With regard to the merits of the caſe, it ſhould be obſerved, that there are only ſome Latin authors who give the perference to Virgil, but that there is not a ſingle Greek one, who will allow him to be ſuperior, or even equal to Homer. The circumſtance

cumſtance of this laſt, having in his favour all the Greeks, and many Latins, among whom, one of the moſt conſpicuous, is the celebrated hiſtorian Velus Paterculus, who beſtows on him the high eulogium, that there never yet was any one who could imitate him; and declares further, that, in his opinion, there never will be any one capable of doing it in time to come. I ſay, when all this is conſidered, it ſhould have great weight in determining the queſtion in Homer's favour. Anna la Fevre I think has been dead but a few years.

SECT. XVIII.

CXXV. Italy is little inferior to France, in numbers of learned women; but, for the ſame reaſon which we curtailed the recital of the French ladies, we ſhall do ſo by the Italian ones.

CXXVI. *Dorothea Bucca*, a native of Bologna, having from her infancy been deſtined to the ſtudy of letters, advanced in the profeſſion with ſuch giant ſtrides, that the famous univerſity of that city, made in her favour, the ſingular, and till then unheard-of precedent, of conferring on her the degree of a doctor; and ſhe continued in the univerſity as a profeſſor of divinity, for a long time. She flouriſhed in the fifteenth century.

CXXVII. *Iſota*

CXXVII. *Iſota Nogarola*, born at Verona, was the oracle of her age, for over-and-above being very learned in philoſophy, and theology, ſhe added to it, the accompliſhment of underſtanding various languages, and being deeply read in the Fathers; and in point of eloquence, it is aſſerted, that ſhe was not inferior to the greateſt orators of that age. The proofs of her ability in this ſcience, are not vulgar, for ſhe ſpoke many times, before the popes Nicolas V. and Pius II. in the council of Mantua, which was convened, for the purpoſe of uniting the Chriſtian princes againſt the Turk. That illuſtrious protector of letters, cardinal Beſſarion, having ſeen ſome of the works of Iſiota, was ſo charmed with the ſpirit of them, that he took a journey from Rome to Verona on purpoſe to ſee her. This lady, died at the age of thirty-eight, in the year 1466.

CXXVIII. *Laura Ceretti*, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, at the age of eighteen, taught philoſophy publickly, with great applauſe.

CXXIX. *Caſandra Fidele*, a Venetian lady, was ſo celebrated for her knowledge of the Greek language, and likewiſe for underſtanding philoſophy, theology, and being deeply read in hiſtory, that there was ſcarce an illuſtrious prince of that time, who did not give her teſtimonies of his eſteem; and

and they reckon among the admirers of Caſandra, the popes Julian II. Leo X. Louis XI. king of France, and our Catholic king Ferdinand, and his queen Iſabel. She wrote ſeveral works, and died at the age of a hundred and two, in the year 1567.

CXXX. *Cathalina de Cibo*, dutcheſs of Camerine, in the March of Ancona, underſtood Latin, Greek, Hebrew, philoſophy, and theology. Her virtue gave ſplendor to her learning; ſhe built the firſt convent the Capuchins poſſeſſed, and died in the year 1557.

CXXXI. *Martha Marchina*, a Neapolitan of low birth, but elevated genius, who, ſurmounting the impediments annexed to her humble fortune, managed ſo as to get herſelf inſtructed in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, which ſhe attained a competent knowledge of, with wonderful velocity, and was no vulgar poeteſs; but her excellent talents were not capable of raiſing her above the ſphere of life in which ſhe was born, the influence of her adverſe ſtars, obſtructing the advancement of her forture. She removed to Rome, where ſhe ſupported herſelf and family by making waſh-balls: but it is probable, if ſhe had had the ſame opportunities of ſtudying which have fallen to the lot of other wo-

men,

men, that ſhe would have been a prodigy among the females, and even among the men alſo. She died at the age of forty-ſix, in the year 1646.

CXXXII. *Lucrecia Helena Cornaro*, of the illuſtrious family of the Cornaro's of Venice, who, though in the ſeries of this memorial, is the laſt of the learned Italian women, on account of her being the moſt modern, we may truly ſay, without doing injuſtice to any one, that ſhe in dignity is the firſt. This woman, who was an honour to her ſex, was born in 1646. From her tender infancy, ſhe manifeſted a violent inclination for letters, with which inclination, the wonderful rapidity of her progreſs correſponded; for ſhe not only inſtructed herſelf with uncommon facility, in the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, but ſhe learned alſo, almoſt all the living languages of Europe. She diſtinguiſhed herſelf ſo conſpicuouſly in mathematics, philoſophy, and ſacred theology, that the univerſity of Padua, had reſolved to confer on her the degree of a doctor of divinity, which would have been done, if cardinal Barbarigo, the biſhop of that city, had not oppoſed carrying the reſolve into execution, on account of ſome ſcruples he entertained of the propriety of the thing, it being contrary to the maxim of St. Paul, which prohibits women from adminiſtering, or teaching in the church; and thus, to prevent

violating this canonical rule, and at the ſame time, not to be wanting in the proper regard due to the deſerving merit of Helena, they fell upon the expedient of making her a doctor of philoſophy; the ceremony of conferring which degree on her, was graced and honoured, with the attendance of many princes and princeſſes, from various parts of Italy. Her eminence in ſcientific knowledge, could only be exceeded, which in reality it was, by her exemplary piety. At twelve years of age, ſhe took the vow of virginity. And although afterwards, a German prince, ſollicited with ardour, the hand of Helena, and offered to obtain from the pope a diſpenſation of her vow, and was likewiſe aſſiſted in his ſuit with the intreaties of all her relations, it was impoſſible to ſubdue her conſtancy. In order to cut off at a ſtroke, the hopes of many other importunate admirers, ſhe was deſirous of immediately entering herſelf a Benedictine nun; but being prevented by her father, ſhe did all ſhe could, which was, to renew by a written inſtrument, her promiſe of virginity, together with the addition of the other religious vows, uſually taken by nuns; which, after having executed, ſhe delivered into the hands of the abbot of the monaſtery of St. George, as an oblation to the Benedictine religion. This ſacrifice of her liberty, was followed by her leading ſo exemplary a life within the walls of her father's houſe, as might excite the envy of the

moſt

moſt auſtere nun. Her love of retirement was ſo great, and ſuch was her ſhame of appearing in public, that, although in obedience to her father's commands, ſhe ſuffered herſelf ſometimes to be ſeen; her conforming to do it gave her ſuch pain, that ſhe was uſed to ſay, that obedience would coſt her her life. In effect, this was but ſhort, for ſhe paſſed from it to another, at the age of thirty-eight years, with equal rejoicings of the angels, and lamentations of mankind, leaving many works, which are ſufficient to eternize her fame. A number of authors were the panegyriſts of this extraordinary woman, among whom, was Gregory Leti, who, in his ſelect extracts from hiſtory, gives her the epithets of the heroine of letters, and a monſter of ſcience; calling her at the ſame time, an angel of beauty and candour.

SECT. XIX.

CXXXIII. Germany, in whoſe frozen region, Apollo has more power to inſpire the mind, than to thaw the limbs, preſents us with a ſpark from the ſun, in the perſon of a woman of that country.

CXXXIV. This was the famous *Anna Maria Surman*, the glory of both Upper and Lower Germany; for although ſhe was born at Cologne, her parents and anceſtors were from the low coun-

tries. There never had appeared, till her time, a perſon of either ſex, of more univerſal capacity. All the arts, and all the ſciences, recognized, and ſubmitted with equal obedience to the empire of her genius, and none of them ever made the leaſt reſiſtance, when this heroine undertook their conqueſt. At ſix years of age, ſhe, without any inſtruction, cut, with ſciſſars in paper, eſtimable and delicate figures. At eight, ſhe learned in a few days to paint flowers, and did actually, at the end of that time, paint ſome, which were much prized: At ten, it did not coſt her more than three hours labour, to acquire the art of embroidering with elegance, but her talents for more exalted exerciſes continued hid, till at twelve years of age, they were diſcovered in the following manner. She had two brothers, who ſtudied at home, and it was remarked, that at various times, upon their repeating their leſſons, when the memory of the boys failed them, the girl would ſet them right, which ſhe was able to do without any ſtudying, having retained the leſſons, from only caſually hearing her brothers repeat the words of them, while they were getting them by heart. This mark, joined to the others ſhe had ſhewn, of being endowed with a capacity that was quite extraordinary, determined her father to permit his daughter to purſue her career in ſtudy, which was ſo correſpondent with the bent of her inclination;

but

but the ſwift motion, with which ſhe paſſed over the extenſive plains of ſacred and profane erudition, ought more properly to be called a flight, than a career; and the ſhort time in which ſhe poſſeſſed herſelf of almoſt all the human ſciences, together with ſacred theology, and a great knowledge of the ſcripture, is as aſtoniſhing. She underſtood perfectly, the German, Dutch, Engliſh, French, Italian, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, and Arabic languages. She was alſo endued with the gift of poetry, and compoſed many very ſenſible works in verſe. In the liberal arts, ſhe acquired applauſe equal to that which ſhe had obtained in ſciences and languages. She underſtood muſic ſcientifically, and played many inſtruments with dexterity. As a painter, and a ſtatuary, ſhe was excellent; as likewiſe in the art of engraving. It is related of her, that, having made her own effigy in wax, ſome artificial pearls, which ſhe had introduced as ornaments to the figure, appeared ſo natural, that nobody would believe they were wax, till after having made the experiment of pricking them with a pin. Her letters were eſteemed, and ſought after, not only for the beauty of the ſtile, but for the elegance of the hand-writing alſo, inſomuch, that all who ſaw them thought they were inimitable: hence, almoſt every trace of her pen, was induſtriouſly collected, as furniture worthy to adorn a cabinet. There

was ſcarce a great man of her time, who did not give her teſtimonies of his eſteem, and who did not ſollicit a literary correſpondence with her. The illuſtrious queen of Poland, Louiſa Maria Gonzaga, after being married at Paris by proxy to king Saniſlaus, in her paſſage to that kingdom through Germany, condeſcended to viſit Surman at her own houſe. She would never marry, although a matrimonial connection with her, was arduouſly ſollicited by many men of rank and fortune; particularly by Monſ. Catec, penſionary of Holland, and a famous poet, who had made ſome verſes in her eulogium, when Anna Maria was but fourteen years old. At length, this woman, who was worthy of being immortal, died in 1678, at ſeventy-one years of age.

SECT. XX.

CXXXV. I ſhall omit mentioning many more learned women, which ennobled Germany and other countries, to conclude with a recent example from Aſia, as a proof, that female literature is not confined and ſhut up within the limits of Europe.

CXXXVI. This ſhall be the charming, diſcreet, and generous *Sitti Maani*, wife of the famous traveller, Pedro de la Valle, a Roman knight. Maani was born in Meſopotamia, in order that

that country, within whoſe bounds, ſome expoſitors believe the garden of Paradiſe was planted, might be the happy ſpot which had produced two eminent Rachaels; for it is certain, that Haran, where the beloved wife of Jacob was born, was a place of Meſopotamia. The fame of the nobleneſs of her genius, the vivacity of her underſtanding, and the beauty of her perſon, had been blazoned abroad when ſhe was very young; this excited the curioſity of Pedro de la Valle, and he was deſirous of ſeeing a lady, of whom he had heard ſo many encomiums. His experience, upon the interview which was permitted him, confirmed the truth of all he had heard, inflamed in his boſom the paſſion of love, and cauſed him anxiouſly to ſollicit obtaining her for a wife, which purpoſe he effected; and Maani, after marrying him, not only forſook the Chaldean rites in which ſhe had been bred up, and turned catholic herſelf, but perſuaded her parents to do the ſame. It is almoſt incredible, what this amiable Aſian acquired in a few years, and indeed the years of her life were but few; for ſhe not only attained a knowledge of all the learning, which thoſe countries, which are ſtill ſtrangers to the ſciences could afford, but ſhe arrived at underſtanding twelve different idioms; but the bulk, as well as perfection, of her moral virtues, exceeded that of her acquiſitions; among which, though not common to her ſex, her cou-

rage ſhone the moſt brilliant, for ſhe fought armed in three encounters, and with great bravery, in defence of her huſband. This woman, in many ways extraordinary, eminent for her talents, and famous for her travels and voyages, in one of them, near Ormuz, became the victim of a fever, which was truly malignant, having deprived her of life at the age of twenty-one. Thus died, to the great grief of all who had known her, this new Rachael, who was ſo like the antient one, that it ſeems, as if Nature and fortune, had ſtudiouſly formed the parallel. Both natives of Meſopotamia. Both beautiful in extreme. Both married to very deſerving men, who were ſtrangers to them, and came from other countries. Both alike, with reſpect to their determination, of forſaking the rites of their country; and following the religion of their huſbands. Both equally conforming, to lead a wandering life, and follow the ſteps of their conſorts; and, in the end, both dying in the flower of their age, and on the road. But the behaviour of the two huſbands, at the time of the fatal criſis, ſeems to have been very different; Pedro de la Valle at that period, appearing to have conducted himſelf with much more delicacy, than the patriarch Jacob. The laſt, buried his Rachael on the road, at the place where ſhe died; though it would have correſponded better with the merit of his wife, if he had paid the ſame care and attention,

tention, and had taken the ſame precaution about her dead carcaſe, that he did with regard to his own, when he ſtrictly enjoined his ſon Joſeph, to convey it to the ſepulchre of his anceſtors, which was in Hebron. The tender care and regard for his wife in this laſt office, which ſeems to have been little attended to by that fond patriarch, though we ſhould ſuppoſe it happened from ſome p̃owerful reaſon, either myſterious or natural, which he had for omitting it, ſhone forth with reſpect to Pedro de la Valle, in acts of the moſt punctual and preciſe reality; and which, in the moſt refined and nice manner, expreſſed the affection he bore his departed conſort: for after having embalmed the dead body of his adored Maani, he carried it about with him incloſed in a coſtly urn, four whole years, all which time, he continued to travel through, and explore various parts of Aſia; with his eyes ever attentive to her aſhes, and his heart and memory to her virtues: till upon returning to Rome, he depoſited the remains of his beloved object, in the ſepulchre of the noble family of the Valles his anceſtors, which they have belonging to them, in the chapel of St. Paul, appertaining to the church of Santa Maria de *Ara Cæli*: this was done with ſuch funeral pomp, that more magnificent ſhew had ſcarce ever been ſeen, Pedro de la Valle himſelf, pronouncing the funeral oration; in doing which, his eyes expreſſed much

more

more than his lips, as in ſhort time his lips ceaſed to move, and left the eyes to ſpeak the reſt; for it ſo happened, that his throat through exceſſive grief, was obſtructed, and he was near being choaked; ſo that he was unavoidably obliged to leave the oration unfiniſhed; but ſuch of the eloquent clauſes as were congealed and obſtructed in the paſſage, melted down, and flowed in tender tears, mixed with ſighs, the true and proper accents of grief, which were reſounded and echoed back, by a numerous concourſe of ſympathetic auditors.

N. B. Sitti is a title of honour among the Perſians, and equivalent to lady with us.

SECT. XXI.

CXXXVII. That the relation ſhould not appear tedious, we have omitted many modern learned women in this catalogue, and have deſignedly forbore to mention the antient ones, as an account of them, may be found in an infinite number of books; but we have ſaid enough to evince, what ſeems of moſt importance in this argument, which is, that almoſt all the women, who have dedicated themſelves to ſtudy, have become eminent, and made conſiderable figures in the literary world; whereas, there are ſcarce three in a hundred, among the men devoted to literature, who have been

been remarkable for their advances in the ſcience, or who could truly and properly, be ſtiled people of learning and ability.

CXXXVIII. But becauſe this reflection, may occaſion the women to fancy themſelves perſons of much ſuperior capacity to the men, it is but juſt and neceſſary, by way of checking ſuch preſumption, to obſerve, that this inequality of improvement by ſtudy, proceeds, from none of their ſex being devoted to it, except thoſe, in whom the people who have had the care of their education have remarked peculiar talents for ſuch purſuits, or thoſe, who have found in themſelves a great propenſity for literature, and a particular diſpoſition for attaining a knowledge of the ſciences; on the other hand, the men are not left to their choice in theſe matters; the parents, with a view of advancing their fortune, without attending to their capacities, or conſidering whether they are dull boys, or lads of genius, deſtine them to the career of letters; and the bulk of the men being people of ſcanty abilities, it muſt unavoidably follow, that a few only, can make a figure in the learned world.

CXXXIX. My opinion of the matter however is, that there is no inequality, in the capacities of the one and the other ſex. But if the women, to repreſs the vain contemners of their aptitude for the

the arts and ſciences, ſhould be diſpoſed to paſs from the defenſive to the offenſive, and by way of playing at diſputation, to contend for a ſuperiority over the men, they may make uſe of the arguments I have mentioned above, by which, from the ſame phyſical maxims, wherewith the men pretend to bear down, and depreciate the capacities of the women, we have ſhewn, that it may with more probability be inferred, the talents and aptitude of the tender ſex, excel thoſe of the robuſt.

CXL. To this, we ſhall add the authority of Ariſtotle, who in various places teaches, that in all the animal ſpecies, expreſsly including the human, the females are more penetrating and ingenious than the males; particularly in his ninth book, *de Hiſtor. Animal. cap.* 1, where he expreſſes himſelf in theſe words: *In omnibus verò, quorum procreatio eſt, fœminam, & marem ſimili feré modo Natura diſtinxit moribus, quibus mas differt á fœmina: quod præcipué tum in homine, tum etiam in iis, quæ magnitudine præſtent, & quadrupedes viviparæ ſint, percipitur: ſunt enim fœminæ moribus mollioribus, miteſcunt celerius, & malum facilius patiuntur: diſcunt etiam, imitanturque ingenioſius.*

CXLI. This authority of Ariſtotle, which gives the advantage to the women, not only in docility, and ſoftneſs of diſpoſition, but allows alſo, that

that they exceed the men in ingenuity; ought to have great weight with thoſe, who are ſuch admirers of Ariſtotle, as to call him the penetrating genius of Nature, and the ſum and perfection of human intelligence. But I muſt caution the women, not to put too much confidence in Ariſtotle: becauſe, although in the place we have juſt cited, he ennobles them with a ſuperiority in point of perſpicuity. A little lower down, he is very liberal in his abuſe of them, and ſays, they are greatly addicted to miſchief: *Verum malitioſiores, aſtuticres, inſidiores fœminæ ſunt*; and although juſt afterwards, he concedes them the preference to the men, in the noble attribute of tenderneſs or compaſſion, he inſtantly bedaubs and marks them, with the blemiſhes of envy, evil-ſpeaking, inveteracy, and other ſuch bad qualities: *Ita quod mulier, miſericors magis, & ad lacrymas propenſior, quam vir eſt: invida item magis, & querela & maledicentior, & mordacior.* Upon the whole, I am not clear, whether the ladies will accept the advantage of ingenuity which this philoſopher has thought fit to confer on them, loaded with the charges he has been pleaſed to annex to it; we may however conclude from the premiſes, that when ſuch a man, who was ſo ill diſpoſed towards them, admits as a fundamental, that they are more ingenious than men, the evidence of their abilities does not reſt on ſlight ground.

SECT.

SECT. XXII.

CXLII. It occurs to me here, that it is neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the aptitude of women for thoſe arts, which are more elevated than thoſe they commonly exerciſe themſelves in; ſuch as painting, and ſculpture. Very few women have dedicated themſelves to theſe arts, but of thoſe few, ſome have turned out excellent artiſts. We have already ſaid of the admirable Maria Surman, that ſhe was eminent in painting, ſculpture, and engraving.

CXLIII. In Italy, the three ſiſters, *Sophoniſba, Lucia, and Europa Angoſciola*, were celebrated painters; the firſt of which, Iſabela, queen of Spain, the wife of Philip the Second, took into her ſervice, and ſhe was in ſuch high repute, that pope Pius IV. ſollicited a portrait of that queen, done by the hand of Sophoniſba.

CXLIV. *Irene de Spilimberg*, was ſo excellent in the ſame art, that her paintings were often taken for thoſe of Titian, who was her cotemporary. Fate ſnatched her away at the age of twenty-ſix, which event cauſed univerſal grief, and drew tears from the eyes of her competitor.

CXLV. *Tereſa*

CXLV. *Tereſa de Po*, was held in great eſtimation at Naples as a painter; and precious traits of her pencil, may be ſeen in the cabinet of the moſt excellent marqueſs of Villena, who employed her when ſhe was vice-queen of Naples.

CXLVI. And even in ſtatuary, Italy has produced famous women. *Propercia de Roſſi*, was generally applauded for her beautiful deſigns, and well-wrought ſtatues in marble; but the diſtinguiſhed *Labinia Fontana*, acquired greater applauſe than her, or indeed than any one elſe. I have had information of but one female painter in France, though ſhe was of the firſt rate. This was *Iſabela Sophia de Cheron*, known by the name of *Madame le Hai*; who over and above poſſeſſing talents beyond the degree of mediocrity, for muſic and poetry, was a moſt finiſhed painter; and became ſo celebrated for her ſkill in this art, that the dauphin, who was ſon to Louis XIV. employed her to paint him and all his children: and Caſimir, king of Poland, who, after his voluntary abdication of that crown, reſided in Paris, cauſed her to do the ſame for him, and many people of the firſt rank and quality in France, followed their example; and even deigned to go and ſit at the houſe of Iſabela, which the prince of Condé did ſeveral times. The emperor Joſeph, endeavoured to draw her to Vienna, by the offer

of a large penſion; but not being able to prevail on her, he ſent her the drawings of his own likeneſs, and thoſe of all the imperial family, that from them, ſhe might paint their portraits. Her deſigns and colouring, were exquiſite, and her facility of execution, wonderful, for ſhe would continue to bear a part in whatever converſation occurred, without giving the leaſt relaxation to the operations of the pencil; but her chriſtian and generous actions, added to the piety of her ſpirit, made her more eſteemed, than the traits of her hand, and ſhe died as ſhe lived, in the year 1711.

CXLVII. But where the equal degree of aptitude in the women for the noble arts, compared to that of the men, is moſt conſpicuous, is in the inſtance of muſic, which is a faculty ſuited indifferently to either ſex; as the females who apply themſelves to it, in proportion to the time they ſtudy, generally make as great progreſs as the men do; nor does a maſter of this art, find more difficulty in teaching girls than boys. I knew one girl of this profeſſion, who, before ſhe arrived at the age of fifteen, was a compoſer. I have purpoſely, in the mention of ſo many illuſtrious women, avoided touching on the exquiſite endowments of our moſt enlightened queen, Donna Iſabel of Farneſe, becauſe it would have been preſumption in ſo groſs a pen as mine, to undertake the diſcuſſion of ſo

ſublime

ſublime a ſubject; and becauſe another, much better cut, and ſuperiorly qualified for the taſk, has, between the eſcutcheons of her royal houſe, drawn ſome traces of the excellencies and ſplendor of her perſon.

SECT. XXIII.

CXLVIII. I am aware now, that againſt all I have ſaid, it may be replied to me to this effect: if women are equal to men, in their aptitude for arts, ſciences, political œconomy, and government, why has God eſtabliſhed the maſtery, and ſuperiority in the men, by the ſentence in the third chapter of Geneſis, which ſays, *ſub viri poteſtate eris?* Becauſe it is probable, he gave the government to that ſex, which he knew to be moſt capable of executing it.

CXLIX. I anſwer firſt, that the ſpecific meaning of the text is not certainly known, on account of the variation in the verſions. The reading in the Septuagint is: *Ad virum converſio tua.* In the Aquilean: *Ad virum ſocietas tua.* In the Samaritan: *Ad virum appetitus, vel impetus tuus.* And the learned Benedict Perceyra ſays, that by tranſlating the Hebrew literally, the ſentence will run thus: *Ad virum deſiderium, vel concupiſcentia tua.*

CL. I anſwer ſecondly, that it might be inſiſted, the political ſubjection of the woman was abſolutely a puniſhment for her ſin, and therefore, that in the ſtate of innocence there was no ſuch thing. The text at leaſt does not contradict ſuch an opinion; for it rather ſeems, that if it had been intended the woman ſhould obey the man in the ſtate of innocence, God would have intimated this ſubjection, at the time he formed her; and from theſe premiſes, it can't ſo properly be inferred, that God gave the man the preference, on account of his poſſeſſing an underſtanding ſuperior to the woman's, as that it was done, becauſe ſhe gave the firſt occaſion to ſin.

CLI. I ſay thirdly, that admitting, God from the beginning gave the rule over the woman to the man, it does not follow from thence, that he endued him with an underſtanding ſuperior to her's; but it rather ſeems likely, this was done for the ſake of maintaining family order and decorum, for allowing them to be equal in point of talents, unleſs the government and direction was veſted in one, all would be anarchy and confuſion. Among the probable ſpecies of governments, the moral philoſophers, copying after Ariſtotle, have held or conſidered, that which is called the Timocracian, to be the worſt and moſt exceptionable: for by this, all the individuals of the republic have equal autho-

authority, and an equal voice; but in the caſe of a man and his wife, this mode of directing, with reſpect to œconomical government, would not only be imperfect, but impoſſible; for among a multitude of people, where there is a variety of opinions, the diſpute may be decided by a plurality of votes; which can't be done between a man and his wife, for they are one, to one; and thus if they ſhould happen to be of different ſentiments, unleſs one of them had the ſuperiority, the point could never be ſettled; but it may be ſaid, why, if their capacities were equal, ſhould God think fit to give the ſuperiority to the men? Various reaſons and motives may be aſſigned for this, ſuch as his excelling the women in many other uſeful qualities, for example, conſtancy and courage; which virtues, are neceſſary for making proper determinations, and for ſupporting them after they are made, by ſubduing and bearing down all the obſtacles, produced by vain and light fears; but we ſhould do better, inſtead of reaſoning in this way, to confeſs, we for the moſt part are ignorant of the motives of divine reſolutions.

SECT. XXIV.

CLII. I ſhall conclude this diſcourſe, by endeavouring to ſet aſide an exception that may be made

to the undertaking; which is, that perſuading mankind of the intellectual equality of both ſexes, does not ſeem to be productive of any utility to the public, but is rather likely to occaſion miſchief, as it tends to foment in the women, preſumption and pride.

CLIII. I might reply to this ſcruple, by only ſaying, that, in whatever matter that may preſent itſelf to our reflection, knowing the truth, and ſetting aſide error, is a utility which is apparent, and of itſelf ſufficient to juſtify our enquiry. The right underſtanding of things, is of itſelf eſtimable, without regard to any other end or object in the creation. Truths have their intrinſic value: and the ſtock, or riches of the underſtanding, does not conſiſt of any other money. Some pieces are more valuable than others, but none are uſeleſs. Nor can the truth we have proved, of itſelf, induce in the women vanity or preſumption. If they, in the perfections of the ſoul, are truly equal to us, there can be no harm in their knowing, or being ſenſible of it. St. Thomas, ſpeaking of vain glory, ſays, this ſin is not incurred by a man's knowing, or being convinced of the perfection he poſſeſſes, and which is contained in him: *Quod autem aliquis bonum ſuum cognoſcat, & approbet, non eſt peccatum* (2. 2 *quæſt.* 132. *Art.* 1.) and in another place, ſpeaking of preſumption, he

he ſays, this vice is always founded in ſome error or miſtake of the underſtanding: *Præſumptio autem eſt motus appetitivus, quia importat quondam ſpem inordinatam, habet autem ſe conformiter intellectui falſo* (*Quæſt.* 22. *Art.* 2.) The women then, by knowing what they are, if they don't eſtimate their qualifications above their real value, can never become vain-glorious, or preſumptuous; but by attending to the thing, it will be found, the deception this chapter is calculated to remove, will rather have a different effect; and inſtead of adding preſumption to the women, will take it away from the men.

CLIV. Though I go further, and maintain, the maxim we have eſtabliſhed, is not only incapable of occaſioning any moral evil, but that it may be productive of much good. Conſider, how many men the imagined ſuperiority of talents, has emboldened to attempt criminal conqueſts over the other ſex. In every encounter, the confidence, or diffidence of a perſon's own ſtrength or power, goes a great way towards determining the event of the conflict. The man, preſuming on the advantage of his ſuperior underſtanding, propoſes boldly, the woman judging herſelf inferior, liſtens with reſpect. Who can deny, that ſuch circumſtances promote a great tendency and diſpoſition,

to his becoming a conqueror, and her falling a victim?

CLV. Let the women then know, that, in point of underſtanding, they are not inferior to the men. They will then determine with confidence, on repelling and refuting thoſe ſophiſms, by which, under the colour and pretence of reaſon and arguments, the men attempt injuſtice and injuries. If a woman can be perſuaded, that a man compared to her, is an oracle, ſhe will lend an attentive ear to the moſt indignant propoſition, and will reverence as an infallible truth, the moſt notorious falſhood. It is very well known, into what acts of turpitude many women have been drawn, by the ſect called Moliniſts, who, before their practices upon them, were eſteemed very virtuous perſons. This perverſion, proceeded from no other cauſe, than their having conſidered theſe Moliniſts, as men of ſuperior lights and talents, and their having entertained an extreme diſtruſt of their own underſtandings, when they repreſented to them clearly, the falſity of thoſe venomous dogmas.

CLVI. There is another conſideration to be attended to, which is of great importance in this matter. It is certain, that every one ſubmits eaſily, and without reluctance, to a perſon, who he

is ſenſible has ſome notable advantage over him. A man ſerves another man without regret, who is more noble than himſelf, but he does it with great repugnance, if they happen to be equal in birth. The ſame thing is obſervable, or may be applied to the caſe we are treating of. If a woman is under the miſtake, that a man is of a much more noble ſex than herſelf, and that ſhe, from a defect in her's, in compariſon to him, is a poor contemptible animal of little value, ſhe will think it no ſhame to ſubmit to him; and by theſe pre-diſpoſing circumſtances, being aided with the flattery of obſequiouſneſs, ſhe may be betrayed into eſteeming that as an honour, which in reality is ignominious. To uſe the words of St. Leon's exclamation to the men, let the women then know their dignity, and let them be ſenſible, that, in point of intellectual capacity, our ſex has no advantage over them, and that it will ever be opprobrious and vile in them, to allow a man the dominion of their bodies, ſave when he is empowered to claim it, by the authority, and under the ſanction, of holy matrimony.

CLVII. I have not yet told all the utility, which, in a moral ſenſe, will reſult to both the men and the women, by extricating them from the error they lie under, with reſpect to the inequality of the ſexes. I firmly believe, this error is

the cauſe, of many marriage-beds having been diſhonoured and contaminated with adulteries. It may ſeem that I am entangling myſelf in a ſtrange paradox, but this is not the caſe; I having done no more, than aſſert an eſtabliſhed truth. Attend.

CLVIII. A few months after the ſouls of two conſorts, are united together by the matrimonial bond, a woman begins to loſe that eſtimation, which ſhe at firſt obtained, as a delectable object newly acquired, and recently poſſeſſed. The man, paſſes from tenderneſs to lukewarmneſs, which lukewarmneſs many times, comes to end in contempt, and poſitive diſeſtimation. When the huſband arrives at this vicious extreme, he, preſuming on the advantages which he ſuppoſes to be annexed to the ſuperiority of his ſex, begins to triumph over, and inſult his wife. Inſtructed by, and verſed in thoſe ſentences, which pronounce, that the moſt which a woman can attain, may be attained by a boy of fourteen years old, and that it is in vain, to ſeek for either ſenſe or prudence in them, together with other ridiculous, and injurious reflections of the ſame kind; treating every thing he obſerves in his wife, with the utmoſt contempt. In this ſituation, if the poor woman attempts to remonſtrate, ſhe is accuſed of raving;

all

all ſhe ſays, is impertinent and foreign to the purpoſe; all ſhe does is wrong. If ſhe is handſome, the attraction of her beauty ſtands her in little ſtead, for its charm is diſſolved, and the ſecurity of poſſeſſing it, has made it of no value. The huſband only recollects, that his wife is an imperfect animal; and if he neglects her, will upbraid the moſt ſpotleſs woman with being a vaſe of impurities.

CLIX. When the unhappy woman is in this humiliating and dejected ſtate, a gallant caſts fond, or, as we commonly ſay in Spain, good eyes on her. To her, who at all times is condemned to ſee nothing but a frowning brow, it is natural to ſuppoſe, a pleaſant countenance appears very delightſome: and ſuch a leading circumſtance, conduces much to bring on, and facilitate a converſation between the parties; in which, the woman hears nothing but what is flattering and pleaſing to her. Before this, ſhe uſed to be accoſted in nought but terms of reproach and contempt, and now, ſhe is addreſſed in expreſſions of tenderneſs and adoration. She lately was treated as ſomething beneath a woman; and now, ſhe is elevated to the ſphere of a divinity. She was accuſtomed lately to be called nothing but fool; and now, ſhe is told that ſhe poſſeſſes a ſublime underſtanding.

ſtanding. In the language of her huſband, ſhe was all imperfections; in that of her gallant, ſhe is all charms and graces. The partner of her bed, lorded it over her like a tyrant maſter; the other, throws himſelf at her feet as an humble ſlave; and although the lover, if he had been her huſband, would have acted juſt as the huſband did: this reflection eſcaped the miſerable wife, and ſhe only ſaw that ſort of difference between them, which there is between an angel and a brute. She views in her huſband, a heart full of thorns, and in her gallant, one crowned with flowers. There a chain of iron preſents itſelf to her ſight; here a golden one. There ſlavery; here dominion. There a dungeon; here a throne.

CLX. In this ſituation, what can the moſt reſolute woman do? How can ſhe reſiſt two impulſes, directed to the ſame point, one that impels, and the other which attracts her? If heaven does not ſtretch forth a powerful and a friendly hand to ſupport her, her fall is inevitable. And if ſhe does fall, who can deny that her own huſband forced her over the precipice? If he had not treated her with indignity, and abuſive railing, the flattery of the lover would have been of no avail. It was his ill treatment, which occaſioned her downfall. All this miſchief, moſt frequently proceeds from the

the mean opinion, which married men are apt to entertain of the other ſex. Let them renounce theſe erroneous maxims, and the conſequence will be, that their wives will become more faithful and conſtant. Let them cheriſh and eſteem them, for God has commanded they ſhould love them; and I can't underſtand, how love and contempt, with reſpect to the ſame object, can be entertained, and accommodate themſelves together in one and the ſame heart.

ON

CHURCH MUSIC.

SECT. I.

I. IN antient times, if we believe Plutarch, muſic was uſed only in temples, and that afterwards it paſſed to theatres. Formerly it ſerved as an ornament to divine worſhip, afterwards it was uſed to ſtimulate vice. Heretofore, the melody of ſacred hymns only were heard, afterwards, we began to liſten to profane ſongs. Muſic originally was uſed as an obſequies to the Deities, it was afterwards applied to inflame the paſſions. In old times, it was dedicated to Apollo, but it ſeems as if afterwards, Apollo had divided the protection of this art with Venus; and as if to poiſon the ſoul, and paint on the theatres the charms of vice, the

fineſt colourings of rhetoric, joined to the harmony of poetic numbers, were not ſufficient, they, to render thoſe charms more attracting, and make the venom more active, confectioned and compounded, rhetoric, poetry, and muſic together.

II. This diverſity of uſes to which muſic was appropriated, induced a difference in the compoſition of it: and as it was neceſſary in the temple, and in the theatre, to excite diſtinct affections, they contrived diſtinct modes of melody, to correſpond, as their echos, with the different affections of the ſoul. The Dorian mode, as grave, majeſtic, and devout, was reſerved for the temple; and in the theatres, they adapted different modes, ſuited to the diverſity of the matters. In the amorous repreſentations, they uſed the Lydian mode, which was ſoft and tender; and when they had a mind to give the movement a ſtronger effect and expreſſion, they applied the mixed Lydian, which was more pathetic and ſtriking than the Lydian by itſelf. In warlike repreſentations, they uſed the Phrygian mode, which is terrible and furious; and in affairs of mirth and jollity, or ſavouring of the Bacchanalian, they adapted the Eolian, which was ſprightly and comic. The Subphrygian mode, was appropriated to calm the tranſports, raiſed by the Phrygian; and thus, to produce other effects, they had other modes of melody.

III. Whe-

III. Whether theſe modes of the antients, correſponded with the different tones uſed by the moderns, is not clearly aſcertained. Some authors affirm they do, others doubt it. I myſelf am inclined to think they do not, becauſe the diverſity of our tones, have not that influence to vary the paſſions, which was experienced in the different modes of the antients.

SECT. II.

IV. Thus muſic in thoſe remote ages, was divided between the temple and the theatre, and was applied promiſcuouſly, to worſhip at the altar, and to the corruption of manners. But although this was a lamentable falling off, it was not the greateſt abuſe which has been practiſed on this noble art, the accompliſhment of its perverſion being reſerved for our times. When the alteration in the application of muſic, which was employed heretofore only in divine worſhip took place, the Greeks made a very judicious diviſion and diſtribution of it; reſerving to the temple, that which was proper for the temple; and giving to the theatre, that which was ſuitable to the theatre; but what has been done in theſe latter times? Why, not content with keeping theatrical muſic for the uſe of the theatre, they have tranſlated it to the church.

V. The church chants of theſe times, with reſpect to their form and manner, ſound like the ſongs of a jovial company ſitting round a table. They are all compoſed of minuets, recitatives, light airs, and alegros; at the end of which, they ſubſtitute ſomething which is called grave; but this is done very ſparingly, leſt it ſhould ſeem tireſome and diſguſting. What can this mean? Should not all the muſic in a church be grave? Ought not the whole compoſition to be calculated to impreſs gravity, devotion, and decency? The inſtrumental muſic is the ſame; but what effect can theſe Canary-birds airs, ſo predominant in the taſte of the moderns, produce in the ſoul? This muſic, ſo replete with jigs, that you can ſcarce find a piece without one, can raiſe no other emotions in the imagination, than thoſe of frolic and levity. He who hears on the organ, the ſame minuet which he heard at the ball, what effect will it have on him? No other, than reminding him of the lady with whom he danced the preceding night. Thus the muſic, which ought to tranſlate the ſpirit of him who liſtens to it, from the terreſtrial to the celeſtial temple, conveys it from the church to the banquet; and the ideas raiſed in the imagination of the perſon who hears this, if either from conſtitution, or vicious habits, he is ill diſpoſed, will not forſake him at the church-door.

VI. O good God! is this the ſort of muſic, which expreſſed from the breaſt of the great Auſtin, while he was ſtill wavering between God and the world, ſighs of compunction, and tears of piety? *Oh how I wept*, ſaid the ſaint, addreſſing himſelf to God in his confeſſions, *moved and excited, by the ſalutary hymns and canticles of thy church! Thoſe words and ſounds, made a lively impreſſion on my ears, and through them, thy truths penetrated my mind. My heart burned with affection, and my eyes melted in tears.* This was the effect of the church muſic of thoſe times; which, like the lyre of David, expelled the evil ſpirit, that had not quite forſaken the poſſeſſion of St. Auſtin, and invoked the good one; the muſic of theſe times expels the good one, if ſuch reſides, and invites the evil one. The eccleſiaſtical chant of thoſe days, was like the ſound of the trumpets of Joſhua, which threw down the walls of Jericho, that is, the paſſions, which fortify the ſtrong town of Vice. The chant of the preſent times, reſembles the ſongs of the Syrens, which lead navigators on rocks and ſhoals.

SECT. III.

VII. How much better was the church with the plain chant, the only one known in it for many ages, and which, for the moſt part, was com-

poſed by the monks of St. Benedict, who were the greateſt maſters in the world at that time, among whom, ſhould be firſt reckoned Gregory the Great, and the celebrated Guido Aretinus; after them came John Murs, a doctor of the Sorbone, who invented the notes, which mark the various duration of the points; and truly, the ſimplicity of that chant, was not deficient in melodies, capable of moving the paſſions, and ſweetly ſuſpending the hearers. The compoſitions of Guido Aretinus, were reckoned ſo pathetic, that cardinal Baronius tells us, that, in the year 1022, pope Gregory VIII. ſent for him from his convent of Arezzo, and would not let him depart his preſence, till he had taught him to ſing a ſhort verſe of his Antiphonario. This was the perſon who invented the modern ſyſtem of muſic, or artificial progreſſion, which is now uſed, and called the ſcale of Guido Aretinus. He alſo contrived the harmonious combination of voices, in different tones; which art, was in all probability known to the antients, but all traces of it were then loſt.

VIII. The plain chant, executed with proper pauſes, has a peculiar excellence for the uſe of churches, which is, that being incapable of exciting ſuch affections as are raiſed by theatrical muſic, it neceſſarily follows, that it muſt be the beſt adapted to induce ſuch as are proper for the

church. Who, by the ſonorous majeſty of the hymn *Vexilla Regis*, by the feſtive gravity of the *Pange Lingua*, by the mournful tenderneſs of the *Invitatorio de Difuntos*, would not feel himſelf excited to veneration, devotion, and contrition? We hear theſe chants every day, notwithſtanding which, they always ſeem pleaſing; when at the ſame time, after half a dozen repetitions, modern compoſitions grow tireſome and unſavoury to us.

IX. I would not however, on this account, quarrel with the figured, or, as it is commonly called, the organ chant; as I am ſenſible, it has great advantages over the plain; becauſe it preſerves and marks the accents on the words, which in the plain chant is impoſſible; and becauſe the different duration of the points, produce to the ear that agreeable effect, which is cauſed to the ſight, by a well-proportioned inequality of colours. It is only the abuſe that has been introduced in the organ chant, which makes me prefer the plain one; and am in this reſpect, like a man who anxiouſly covets plain food, and avoids the more delicate, when he knows it is corrupted.

SECT. IV.

X. What good-diſpoſed ears, can, in ſacred chants, endure thoſe enormous breaks, and laſcivious

vious inflexions, which offend againſt the rules of decency, and are contrary to thoſe of muſic? I ſpeak of thoſe flights and wanderings, which ſeem as if they had been ſtudied, and which the voice takes by ſtraying from the ſubject of the melody; of thoſe languiſhing falls from one point to another, that run not only through the ſemitone, but alſo through all the intermediate comas, and are tranſitions, which are not contained in art, nor does Nature allow them.

XI. Experience ſhews, that the changes which the voice makes in the chant, by running through ſmall intervals (ſuch paſſages containing in themſelves a degree of effeminate ſoftneſs, if not a laſcivious tendency); are apt to produce in the minds of hearers, an effect, correſpondent to ſuch ſort of ideas, and impreſs on the fancy certain confuſed images, which repreſent nothing good. On this account, many of the antients, and particularly the Lacedemonians, reprobated as pernicious to youth, the ſort of muſic called Chromatic, which by the introduction of B-flatts, and ſoſtenutos, divides the octave into ſmaller intervals than the natural ones. Hear what Cicero ſays of this: *Chromaticum creditur repudiatum pridem fuiſſe genus, quod adoleſcentum remoleſcerent eo genere animi; Lacedæmones improbaſſe ferentur.* (*Lib.* 1. *Tuſcul. Quæſt.*) It may be ſuppoſed, they would have

found more reaſon for prohibiting the Enharmonic alſo; which, by the addition of more flats and ſoſtenutos, and by being joined to the two other ſorts, the Diatonic, and Chromatic, which muſt neceſſarily precede it; and which, by making the interval leſs ſtill, divides the octave into a greater number. In conſequence of this combination (the voice, by ſometimes deviating from the natural point, through ſpaces which are yet ſhorter, that is to ſay, the minor ſemitones) there reſults a muſic, more ſoft and effeminate than the Chromatic.

XII. Is it not much to be lamented, that the Chriſtians don't uſe the ſame precaution the antients did, to prevent muſic from perverting the manners of youth? But we are ſo far from doing this, that already no muſic is allowed to be good, in which there is not introduced at every turn, both in the human voice, and the inſtruments, points, which they call foreign, and which paſs through all parts of the diapaſon, from the natural point to the accidental one; and this is the mode. There is no doubt but theſe tranſitions, managed with moderation, art, and genius, produce an admirable effect; becauſe they mark the expreſſion of the words with more vivacity and ſpirit, than the pure diatonic progreſſions; and there reſults from ſo contriving things, a more delicate and expreſſive muſic. But the compoſers who are capable of doing

ing this, are very few, and thoſe few, are the occaſion of an infinite number of others loſing and expoſing themſelves; and who, by endeavouring to imitate them, for want of talents and addreſs to manage the buſineſs, fail in the attempt, and form with their foreign introductions, a ridiculous muſic, which ſometimes is inſipid, and at others harſh; and when they miſtake the leaſt, there reſults from their labours, an unmeaning ſoftneſs, and laſcivious delicacy, which has no good effect on the mind, becauſe there is no expreſſion in it, capable of exciting any noble emotion. If notwithſtanding all that is objected to it, compoſers are deſirous ſuch muſic ſhould go down, becauſe it is the faſhion, let them apply it to the uſe of the theatres and concert rooms; but don't let them introduce it into the churches, as faſhions were never contrived or calculated for them; and if the divine offices do not admit of change of modes, either in veſtments or rites, why ſhould they be admited in muſical compoſitions.

XIII. The caſe is, that this change of modes, contains at the bottom a certain venom, which Cicero gives an admirable deſcription of; for he remarks, that in Greece, with the ſame pace manners declined towards corruption, muſic declined from its antient majeſty, towards an affected ſoftneſs; either becauſe an effeminate muſic corrupt-

ed the integrity of mens minds, or becauſe a vitiated and depraved muſic, debauches their taſte, and inclines them to reliſh thoſe baſtard melodies, which, as ſymbols of, are beſt ſuited to their perverted manners: *Civitatumque hoc multarum in Græcia interfuit, antiquum vocum ſervare modum: quarum mores lapſi, ad mollitiem pariter ſunt immutati in cantibus; aut hac dulcedine, corruptelaque depraviti, ut quidam putant: aut cum ſeveritas morum ob alia vitia cecidiſſet, tum fuit in auribus, animiſque mutatis etiam huic mutationi locus.* (Lib. 2. de Legibus.) So that the taſte for this effeminate muſic, is the effect or cauſe of ſome relaxation in the mind. I would not however be underſtood to ſay, that all thoſe who have a taſte for ſuch muſic, are tainted with this defect. Many of ſtrict and incorruptible virtue, whom no vitiated muſic can warp, ſeem to approve it; but they in general do this, becauſe they hear it is the faſhion: and even many, though in reality they do not reliſh it, are led to ſay they do, only becauſe they would not be looked upon as people wedded to, and prejudiced in favour of antiquated cuſtoms, and as perſons, who are not poſſeſſed of faculties, capable of reliſhing the fine taſte of the moderns.

SECT.

SECT. V.

XIV. I am ready however to confeſs, that there have lately been publiſhed ſome excellent compoſitions, both with reſpect to the pleaſing elegance of their taſte, and the ſubtilty of the art diſplayed in them; but by way of contraſt to theſe, which are very rare, an innumerable quantity of others have been produced, that to the ear are inſufferable. This ariſes, partly from people undertaking to compoſe, who are not capable of doing it; and partly from ordinary compoſers pretending to take licences, which ſhould only be attempted by great maſters.

XV. It fares with muſic at this time, as it fares with ſurgery. In the ſame manner, that every blood-letter of middling ability, takes upon him the name and occupation of a ſurgeon, every organiſt, and violin player, of reaſonable dexterity, ſets himſelf up for a compoſer. This they can do, with little difficulty or labour, for they have only to get by heart, the general rules of conſonance and diſſonance; and then, from the numberleſs manuſcripts, or printed violin ſonatas with which the world abounds, take the firſt light air which occurs, or ſeems pleaſing to them, and apply the tone of that air to the words; and as the voice

proceeds, they, by thoſe general rules, go on covering it with a dry accompanyment, which contains neither imitation nor excellence; and between the pauſes of the voice, they may introduce a burſt of violins for ten or a dozen bars, more or leſs, provided that is the ſtile of the ſonata from whence they made the theft. If they would content themſelves with doing no more than this, we might be brought to endure their productions: but the worſt of the evil is, that from an affectation of being thought ſuperior to trivial compoſition, they introduce falſe concords, without preparing, or being able to reſolve them, and by that means, make terrible blemiſhes, and commit faults, that are inexcuſable; and becauſe alſo, they ſee ſome illuſtrious compoſers, diſpenſe with the common rules, and take liberties, ſuch as writing two-fifths, or two octaves immediately following each other, which they do only for the ſake of introducing a good paſſage, or to attain ſome excellence of harmony, and which, without taking ſuch a liberty, they could not have effected: and although theſe never take ſuch a latitude, but under particular circumſtances, and ſubject to certain limitations; the others have the audacity to attempt it, out of time, and when it can anſwer no purpoſe whatever; by which means, they are thrown to the ground with ſuch violence, that the ſtroke of their fall is ſhocking to the ear.

XVI.

XVI. Middling compoſers, although, by endeavouring to tread in the ſteps of the excellent ones, they don't fall into ſuch groſs errors, generally form a muſic, which at ſometimes is lifeleſs, and at others turgid. This is occaſioned by their introducing accidentals, and changing the keys in the ſame piece; which method, if practiſed by great maſters, who uſe it ſeaſonably and opportunely, not only gives a greater ſweetneſs to the muſic, but communicates to the words, a more ſtriking impreſſion, than they of themſelves, without this aſſiſtance, could convey or produce. Some ſtrangers had a happy talent at doing this; but no one underſtood it better, than our Don Antonio de Literes, a compoſer of the firſt rate, and who is perhaps the only one, who knows how to unite all the majeſty and ſweetneſs of the antient muſic, with the buſtle and hurry of the modern; but in the management of the accidental points, he has a ſingular addreſs, for almoſt every time he introduces them, they give an energy to the muſic, which is correſpondent to, and ſtrengthens the ſignification of the words they fall on. To do this, requires both genius and ſcience, but much more genius than ſcience. From this deficiency in point of genius, we find maſters in Spain, of great knowledge and comprehenſion, who were not ſo happy as to ſucceed in this way; ſo that, although in their compoſitions we admire the ſubtilty of their

art, their works don't obtain the approbation of our ears.

XVII. Thoſe who are unaſſiſted by genius, and who, on the other hand, do not poſſeſs more than a moderate knowledge of muſic, make falſe concordances, introduce accidentals, and change the keys, becauſe doing ſo is the faſhion; and becauſe they are fond of having it thought, they know how to manufacture theſe ſort of airs; although, in reality, they ſeldom produce any air at all; and notwithſtanding their compoſitions are conformable to the common rules, ſtill they are unſavoury, and diſagreeable; and when they are performed in the church, inſtead of producing that ſweet calm, and inward compoſure which are requiſite to devotion, they excite perturbations in the hearts of the hearers.

XVIII. Between the firſt and ſecond of theſe, there comes in another ſort of compoſers, who, though in point of abilities, are above mediocrity, they for ſacred compoſitions are the worſt of all. Theſe are they, who ſport with, and run the changes, upon all the delicacies muſic is capable of; but diſpoſe them in ſuch a manner, that the melody produced, has the ſound of pantomine airs. All the irregularities they practice, either in falſe concordances, or accidentals, are introduced

duced as graces, but graces very different from thoſe recommended by St. Paul in his Epiſtle to the Coloſſians: *Ingratia cantantes in cordibus veſtris Deo:* inſtead of ſuch; they are graces of banter, and harmonies of indecency; and are a ſort of paſſages, the beſt of which, the muſicians themſelves, call childiſh and apiſh. Are ſuch proper for the church? Let them in God's name, be ſent to the courts of the comedies, and the halls of the dance. But is it not an impious abuſe, to introduce into the houſe of God, things which are trifling, apiſh and indecent? And is not the blending them with divine worſhip, an abominable error?

XIX. Is not this attempting to baniſh from muſic, all enlivening cheerfulneſs, except that which ſavours of the puerile and buffoon? Muſic may be exceedingly cheerful, and at the ſame time, impregnated with a majeſtic gravity, capable of exciting in the hearers, affections of reſpect and devotion: or, to ſpeak more properly, the moſt cheerful and delectable muſic of all, is that which induces a ſweet tranquillity in the ſoul; collecting it within itſelf, and let us ſay, elevating it with a kind of extatic rapture, ſuperior to the body it is attached to; that the mind may take a flight, towards the manſions of bliſs, and contemplate divine things in a nearer point of view. This is the

the ſort of cheerful muſic, which St. Auſtin approved as uſeful in churches, and which he treated St. Athanaſius with exceſſive ſeverity for having objected to; becauſe its proper effect, is elevating thoſe hearts to noble affections, which are oppreſſed and weighed down with earthly inclinations: *Ut per hæc oblectamenta aurium infirmior animus in affectum pietatis aſſurgat.* (Lib. 10. Confeſſ. Cap. 32.)

XX. It is true, that the maſters capable of forming this noble kind of melody, are very few; but thoſe who can't attain this degree of perfection, ſhould content themſelves with doing ſomething leſs; taking care however, that their compoſitions ſhould tend to excite ſuch diſpoſitions, as are ſuitable to divine offices; or at leaſt being careful, that they ſhould not conduce to promote inclinations of an oppoſite nature; and at all events, although it ſhould be at the hazard of diſobliging the multitude, to ſhun thoſe ſkittiſh ſort of airs, which have a certain occult relation to forbidden affections; but of the two evils into which church muſic is in danger of falling, that of its being offenſive to the ears, is a leſs miſchief, than that of its being an incentive to vice.

XXI. The power of muſic to ſtir the paſſions, and raiſe in the minds of men, diſpoſitions to virtue or

or vice, is very well known. It is related of Pythagoras, that having by muſic adapted to produce ſuch an effect, inflamed the heart of a certain youth to a diſhonourable amour, he afterwards, by changing the tone, reduced him to the dominion ofcontinence. It is alſo related of Timotheus, a muſician of Alexander the Great, that he could irritate the martial fury of that prince to ſuch a degree, that he would ſeize on his arms, and put himſelf in an attitude, as if his enemies were in front, and he on the point of charging them. This effect however, was the leſs ſurpriſing, becauſe the natural diſpoſition of the prince, conſpired to aſſiſt the ſkill of the artiſt. Some add, that after having enraged, he calmed him; and cauſed Alexander, who never turned his back on any danger, to become a fugitive from his own rage. But what is told of the power of another muſician, which was exerciſed on Henry II. king of Denmark, called the Good, is more extraordinary than all this; for it is ſaid, that, by a movement and touch, calculated to excite choler, he inflamed the rage of that prince to ſuch a degree, that he fell upon, and put to death, three or four of his domeſtics, and would have carried the havoc and devaſtation ſtill further, if he had not been reſtrained by violence. This was the more wonderful, becauſe the king's natural diſpoſition, was gentle and peaceable.

XXII. I don't imagine the muſicians of theſe times can perform ſuch miracles, neither perhaps did the antient ones; for theſe hiſtories, are not extracted from Holy Writ. It is however certain, that muſic, according as the melody is varied, induces in the mind a variety of diſpoſitions, ſome good, others bad. With one we find ourſelves moved to ſorrow, with another to mirth; with one to clemency, with another to blood; with one to fortitude, with another to puſillanimity; and ſo on, with reſpect to other inclinations.

XXIII. There is no doubt of the juſtneſs of this remark, neither is there any, that a maſter, who compoſes for the church, ſhould diſpoſe the muſic in ſuch a way, and write it in ſuch a ſtile, as is beſt calculated to promote the ſpiritual welfare of ſouls; and to ſuſtain the majeſty, decorum, and ſolemnity of divine worſhip. St. Thomas, touching upon this point, ſays, the chant was a ſalutary inſtitution in the church, becauſe it excited ſickly ſouls, that is, ſuch as were weak in ſpirit, to devotion. But, alas! what would the ſaint ſay, if he was to hear in the church ſome of the airs of theſe times, which, ſo far from fortifying the ſick, enfeeble the healthy; which, inſtead of promoting devotion in the breaſt, baniſh it from the ſoul; and inſtead of elevating the mind to pious reflections, bring to the memory forbid-

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den things? I repeat it again, that it is an obligation on muſicians, and a very ſerious one, to correct this abuſe.

XXIV. Truly, when I reflect on the ſerious turn of mind, for which Spaniards heretofore were remarkable, I can't help being ſtruck with amazement, to find at preſent, that we can reliſh no other but puppet-ſhew muſic. This looks as if the celebrated Spaniſh gravity, was reduced to nothing more, than ſtalking ſtiff and erect up and down the ſtreet. The Italians, by means of the falſe flattering inſinuation, that muſic has been improved of late days, have made us the ſlaves of their taſte. I, for my part, believe what they call improvement, to be ruin and deſtruction, or ſomething very near it. All intellectual arts, of whoſe excellencies, the underſtanding and the taſte, cloathed with an equal degree of authority are judges, have their points, or zenith of perfection, which when they are once arrived at, he who attempts to advance them, commonly occaſions their decline, and puts them in a train, which leads to their deſtruction.

XXV. It will perhaps, with reſpect to the ſcience of muſic, happen to Italy very ſoon, if it has not ſo happened there already, juſt as it happened to it, with regard to the Latin language, oratory,

oratory, and poetry. Theſe faculties, in the age of Auguſtus, arrived to that ſtate of propriety, beauty, elegance, and natural energy, in which their true perfection conſiſted. Thoſe who ſucceeded to that age, pretended, by the violent introduction of improper ornaments to refine them; by doing which, they precipitated them from Nature to affectation, and from thence they afterwards fell into barbariſm. The poets who ſucceeded Virgil, and the orators who ſucceeded Cicero, were throughly perſuaded in themſelves, that they had given new graces, and new excellencies to the two arts; but the keen Petronius Arbiter, after upbraiding them with their ridiculous and prompous affectation, told them very plainly, what in reality they had done: *Vos primi omnium eloquentiam perdidiſtis.*

SECT. VII.

XXVI. To ſee whether the muſic of theſe times ſuffers the ſame ſhipwreck, which the beforenamed ſciences underwent; let us examine, in what the muſic, which is now practiced, differs from that of the antecedent age. The firſt and moſt remarkable diſtinction which occurs, is the diminution of the figures. The ſhorteſt points which were formerly known, were demi-ſemi quavers; and with them, it was imagined, they had given

given to the execution of the chant, and the inſtruments, as great a degree of velocity, as without doing violence to both, they were capable of attaining. This did not ſeem ſufficient, and a little while afterwards, they invented dividing the demi-ſemi quavers into thirds, by which means, the movement became one part in three quicker than it was before. The extravagance of compoſers did not ſtop here, for they doubled the demi-ſemi quavers, and made a movement, that, for its rapidity, ſeems to have gone beyond the reach of imagination, which can ſcarce conceive, how it is poſſible, in the compaſs of a bar, to articulate or expreſs ſixty-four points. I don't know whether before this age, any double demi-ſemi quavers ever appeared figured in any compoſition; except it was in the ſong of the Riſuenor, which father Kircher, in the middle of the laſt century, cauſed to be printed, in the firſt book of his *Muſurgia Univerſal*; and I am even inclined to think, that ſolfa ſavours of the hyperbolic; for it is not eaſy to perſuade me, that that bird, with all his agility and flexibility of throat, could articulate ſixty-four points, in the ſpace of raiſing and falling the hand, within the compaſs of regular time.

XXVII. I now ſay, this diminution of figures, inſtead of perfectioning muſic, intirely ſpoils and

ruins it; for two reaſons: the firſt is, that it will be very difficult to find a perſon, who either with the voice, or on an inſtrument, is capable of executing points of ſuch velocity. The before-cited father Kircher, ſays, that having made ſome compoſitions which were out of the common track, and of difficult execution, (though I believe they were not ſo difficult as thoſe which are now the faſhion) he could not find in all Rome, a ſinger capable of performing them. How then can you expect to find in every province, and in every cathedral, inſtrumental performers and ſingers, who, in exact time, and with the due intonation, are capable of executing theſe exceeding minute figures; and to this difficulty we may likewiſe add, that of the many extravagant flights and jumps, which at preſent are the faſhion alſo. To articulate ſuch a ſolfa, requires a throat of prodigious volubility, and to expreſs ſuch muſic on an inſtrument, demands admirable agility, and dexterity of hand; and, therefore, ſuch compoſitions are only fit for one or two very ſingular executioniſts, which may be found in this or that particular court; but they ſhould not be printed for the uſe of the world at large; for the ſame ſinger, who, with a natural and eaſy ſolfa, would give pleaſure to the hearers, would, by attempting theſe difficult paſſages, diſtract them; and the ſame hand, by which a ſonata, of eaſy execution, would ſound delight-

delightſome and ſweet; one of arduous difficulty, would ſound like the talking of gibberiſh.

XXIV. The ſecond reaſon why this diminution of figures deſtroys muſic, is, becauſe it does not give ſpace for the ear to perceive the melody. As the delight the eye receives by a well-diſpoſed variety of colours, could not be attained, if each was to paſs the ſight with ſo quick a motion, that it could ſcarce make a diſtinct impreſſion on the organ, and it is the ſame with all ſorts of viſible objects; juſt ſo, if the points into which muſic is divided are of ſo ſhort duration, as to be incapable of acting diſtinctly on the ear, this organ, would not perceive harmony but confuſion. Further, this ſecond inconvenience like the reſt, is increaſed by the abuſe, which, in their practice, is committed by inſtrumental performers; who, although they are but ſlow or indifferent hands, generally make oſtentation of playing with great velocity; and commonly ſtrive to execute the ſonata, with more rapidity than the compoſer intended, or than the character of the muſic requires. From whence it follows, that by a defect in the moſt eſſential part of the execution, which is preciſion and exactneſs, the muſic loſes its true and proper genus; and the byſtanders, hear nothing but a confuſed clatter. Let every one then purſue the mode, which is ſuitable to his talents and abili-

ties; for if he, who is heavy and ſlow of foot, endeavours to run as faſt as him who is light and nimble, his whole career will be nothing but ſtumbles; and if he, who can only run, attempts to fly, he will ſoon fall, and daſh himſelf to pieces.

XXIX. The ſecond diſtinction between antient and modern muſic, conſiſts in this laſt, in the frequency and exceſs of tranſitions, from the diatonic to the chromatic and enharmonic ſtile; and in often changing the tones, by the introduction of ſoſtenutos and B flatts. This, as I obſerved before, has a good effect, if it is done with moderation and opportunely. But the Italians of this day, run to ſuch an extravagant exceſs with theſe tranſitions, that they force harmony off its hinges. Whoever has any difficulty of believing this, let him, free from prejudice or partiality, conſult his own ears, whenever he hears any of thoſe ſonatas or chants performed, which abound much in accidentals.

XXX. The third diſtinction, conſiſts in the liberty which compoſers at preſent take, of mixing in their muſic, all ſorts of modulations that occur to them; without confining themſelves, either to imitation or theme. The pleaſure perceived by this muſic, which I will take the liberty of calling looſe and diſheveled, is vaſtly inferior to the en-

joyment, afforded by that beautiful regularity and contrivance, with which the maſters of the laſt age, introduced a pleaſing variety into a paſſage; and eſpecially, when the muſic was calculated for four voices. Strangers are ſenſible of the high value of ſuch compoſitions; nor are excellent ones of this ſpecies wanting in other countries; but compoſers in general, avoid writing in this ſtile, becauſe the doing it well, demands more labour and ſtudy, than they are commonly diſpoſed to take; ſo that if now and then they introduce, and begin purſuing a paſſage, they quickly leave it, and give a looſe to their fancy, letting it run where it liſts. Strangers, who come to Spain, are for the moſt part mere executioniſts, and therefore not capable of forming this kind of muſic; becauſe it requires more ſcientific knowledge, than they are generally maſters of; and therefore, to conceal that they are deficient in point of ability, they endeavour to perſuade people, the method of purſuing paſſages is out of faſhion.

SECT. VIII.

XXXI. This is the ſpecies of muſic, with which the Italians, by the hand of their beloved maſter Duron, have regaled us; for he was the man, who firſt introduced foreign modes into the muſic of Spain. It is true, that ſince his time, theſe

modes have been ſo refined, that if Duron could now riſe from his grave, he would not know them: but ſtill, the blame of all theſe novelties is imputable to him, for he was the firſt who opened the door for their introduction. Virgil's deſcription of the winds, may be applied to the airs of the Italian muſic.

Qua data porta ruunt, & terras turbine perflant.

With regard to the ſcience of muſic, we ſee verified in the Spaniards, with reſpect to the Italians, that eaſy condeſcenſion in admitting novelties, which Pliny lamented in the Italians themſelves, with reſpect to the Greeks: *Mutatur quotidie ars interpolis, & ingeniorum Græciæ flatu impellimur.*

XXXII. With all this, we are not without able compoſers in Spain, who have not totally fallen in with the faſhion, or who jointly, with conforming to it, and judiciouſly combining the antient and modern together, have wrote ſome valuable and delectable pieces of grammatical muſic; in which, the ſweetneſs and majeſty of the old compoſitions has been preſerved. Speaking of this, brings afreſh to my memory, the ſavoury and luxuriant Literes; and I can't help mentioning him a ſecond time, for he is a compoſer truly original. A character of elevated ſweetneſs, which

is proper and natural to him, is reſplendent in all his works, and which never forſakes him, even when he ſets words to muſic, on amorous or profane ſubjects; ſo that even in ſongs of love, or comic gallantry, he preſerves a kind of ſublimity, which can only touch, or be felt by the ſuperior part of the ſoul; this he manages with ſuch addreſs, that he awakes tenderneſs; and at the ſame time lulls luſt to ſleep. I would have this compoſer always employed in writing for ſacred ſubjects; becauſe the genus of his compoſitions, is better calculated to inſpire celeſtial affections, than to foment earthly amours. If ſome of his muſic, is leſs impregnated with that tumultuous air and clatter, for which the works of many other authors are admired; it, for that very reaſon, is, in my opinion, better calculated for the uſe of churches; becauſe muſic in them, demands a ſerious gravity, which ſhould ſweetly calm the mind; and not a puerile flightineſs, which would excite to dance with caſtanets. Compoſitions of the laſt kind are very eaſy, and are therefore made by many; thoſe of the firſt ſort are difficult, and therefore but few attempt them.

SECT. IX.

XXXIII. What we have hitherto ſaid of the irregularity and diſorders of church muſic, does

not extend to chants in the vulgar tongue only, but to pſalms, maſſes, lamentations, and other parts of divine ſervice, becauſe the modes in faſhion, have been introduced into them all. I have, in printed lamentations, ſeen the changes of the airs characteriſed in the ſame terms, which are uſed to deſcribe them in comic muſic. Here you read *grave*, there *ayroſo*, and in another place *andante*. What, can't we admit of all the muſic being grave, even in a lamentation? And is it neceſſary to introduce light comedy airs into the repreſentation of the moſt afflicting myſteries. If grief could find a place in heaven, Jeremiah would lament afreſh, at ſeeing ſuch muſic applied to his ſongs of mourning. Is it impoſſible, that in thoſe complainings, where every letter is a ſigh, correſponding with, and expreſſive of the various ſenſations ariſing from the ſubjects of his lamentation; either the ruin of Jeruſalem by the Chaldeans, the deſtruction of the world for ſin, the affliction of the church militant for the perſecution of its martyrs; and, to ſum up the whole, the anguiſh and ſufferings of our Redeemer, for the ſalvation of mankind. I ſay, can the feelings produced by ſuch ſad and diſtreſſing calamities, be expreſſed with airy tunes and recitatives? In the mournful ſongs of Jeremiah, which ſome expoſitors call the alphabet of the penitents, ſhould we hear the ſound of feſtive airs and ſerenades?

With

With how much more reaſon than him, ought we to exclaim here in the language of Seneca, when he cenſured Ovid, for having introduced into the deſcription of ſo tragical an event as that of Deucalion's flood, a verſe which ſavoured of gallantry: *Non eſt res ſatis ſobria laſcivire devorato orbe terrarum.* The Cythara of Nero, while Rome was burning, had not ſo harſh a ſound, as the harmony of dances in the repreſentation of ſuch affecting myſteries.

XXXIV. And beſides offending in this particular againſt the rules of reaſon, they ſin alſo againſt the laws of muſic, which preſcribe, that the tone of the chant, ſhould be ſuited to the meaning of the words; and therefore, when the language is ſolemn and expreſſive of ſorrow, the tone of the muſic ſhould be grave and affecting.

XXXV. It is true, that againſt this rule, which is one of the moſt cardinal, muſicians very frequently ſin in all ſorts of compoſitions, ſome from being deficient, and others by exceeding. Thoſe fall into the error of deficiency, who form muſic without any attention to the ſpirit or meaning of the words to which they apply it; but hardly any fall into thoſe groſs miſtakes, except ſuch as ſcarce deſerve the name of compoſers, and who are capable of doing nothing more, than tacking

ing or weaving together, ſhreds and ſtrips, of the compoſitions of other muſicians.

XXXVI. Thoſe err by exceeding or doing too much, who regulate their muſic with a pueril nicety, to correſpond with the diſtinct or ſeparate ſignification of each word, taken or ſtanding by itſelf, without having regard to the meaning of the whole context. An example produced by father Kircher to illuſtrate this abuſe, will explain what I mean. He inſtanced the manner, in which a compoſer had ſet to muſic the following verſe: *Mors feſtinat luctuoſa*; to the words *mors* and *luctuoſa*, he applied a mournful ſolfa; but to the word *feſtinat*, which ſtood in the middle between them, as it ſeemed to him, to ſignify vivacity or quickneſs, he appropriated a career of alegros, that would have cauſed the moſt ſluggiſh nag who heard them, to bound about and give cabriols.

XXXVII. I ſaw ſomething as bad, or indeed even worſe than this, in one of the lamentations I cited before; where to the muſic adapted to expreſs the following ſentence: *Depoſita eſt vehementer non habens conſolatorem*, was marked ayroſo. How ill-ſuited is an airy movement, to expreſs the lamentable fall of Jeruſalem, and alſo that of all mankind, bowed down and crippled with the weight of their ſins; which misfortune, was aggravated with the additional and diſtreſſing circumſtance, of their being deſtitute of comfort under the

the calamity? But the blame of all this, was imputable to the adverb *vehementer*, becauſe to expreſs vehemence, appeared to the compoſer to require a lively movement; and thus, when he came to that word in the ſentence, he quickened his pace, and upon the adverb vehementer, expended in rapid notes, muſic to the amount of forty crotchets; but the word, in the ſenſe it was there uſed, was intended to ſignify the ſame as *graviſſime*, and to expreſs with energy, the degree of grief and ſadneſs, occaſioned by the fall of Jeruſalem, which crippled and born down, with the cruſhing weight of its ſins, came to the ground, temple, walls, and houſes all together.

XXXVIII. Nobody was more guilty of this fault, than the celebrated Duron, and he committed it to ſuch a degree, that ſometimes in the ſame couplet, juſt as the ſignification of the words of the verſe varied, taken ſeparately or by themſelves, he would vary the affections of the chant, ſix or eight times; and although it required great addreſs and ability to do this, which he in reality was poſſeſſed of; ſuch an exertion of his talents was ill applied.

SECT.

SECT. X.

XXXIX. Some (for we would not omit to mention this) judge, that the compoſing muſic adapted to different ſubjects, conſiſts much, in a right choice of the keys; and they aſſign one for grave ſubjects, another for cheerful ones, and another for mournful ones, and ſo on; but I believe, this contributes little or nothing to the buſineſs; for there is no key whatever, in which there have not been written, very expreſſive and pathetic compoſitions, ſuited to excite all kinds of affections. The different place which the two ſemi-tones occupy in the diapaſon, and which is what the diſtinction of keys conſiſts in, is inſufficient to induce this diverſity; becauſe in whatever place an accidental is introduced, and they introduce them at every turn, this order is changed; and becauſe various, or the moſt parts of the compoſition, by varying their terminations, fall upon, or catch the ſemi-tones, in a different poſition, from that in which they ſtand or are placed, with reſpect to the diapaſon. For example; although the firſt key-tone, which begins D ſolre, proceeds in this order, firſt a tone, then a ſemi-tone, after that three tones, to which there follows another ſemi-tone, and at laſt there comes a whole tone. The different traces, or minute paſſages of the compoſition, taken

taken each by itſelf, do not follow this order; becauſe one begins in the firſt, another in the tone which is next after it, and ſo on with reſpect to all the other parts of the diapaſon, and they terminate wherever the compoſer likes beſt; by which means, in every trace or minute paſſage of the compoſition, the poſition of the ſemi-tones is varied, as much, as in the different diapaſons, which which conſtitute the diverſity of the keys.

XL. What confirms me in this ſentiment, that the ſuiting muſic to produce a grave or a ſprightly effect, does not depend upon the choice of the key it is wrote in, is, that the greateſt muſicians, are much divided in their opinions upon this point. What one conſiders as a lively key, another thinks a mournful one; what one eſteems a devout key, another calls a flighty one. The two great jeſuits, father Kircher, and father Dechales, are ſo oppoſite in their ſentiments upon this head, that the ſame key, which father Kircher characterizes in this manner: *Harmonioſus, magnificus, & regia majeſtate plenus*, father Dechales ſpeaks thus of: *Ad tripudia, & choreas eſt comparatus, diciturque propterea laſcivus*; and they differ little leſs, in their aſſignation of the characters of many other keys, if not of all.

XLI. The

XLI. The foregoing, ſhould be underſtood to relate and apply to the eſſential difference of keys, which conſiſts, in the diverſity of poſition of the ſemi-tones in the diapaſon; but not to their accidental difference; which conſiſts, in their being taken higher or lower. This may conduce ſomething to create effect; becauſe the ſame muſic, ſet in low notes, which is religious and grave, tranſpoſed to high ones, loſes of its majeſty, and acquires a degree of vivacity, that is ill ſuited to a ſolemn ſubject: and for this reaſon, I am of opinion, that the movements of church muſic ſhould not be very quick; becauſe, by hurrying the voices in the chant, they occaſion them to ſound harſh; and beſides this, prevent that eaſy play and flexibility of throat, which is neceſſary to produce the effect the muſic requires; and which many times conſiſts, or is contained in the intonations; I ſay further, that over and above theſe inconveniencies, muſic compoſed of quick movements, and ſet in high notes, is not ſo well calculated to move the affections, of reſpect, devotion, and piety, as that which is written in lower tones, and marked to be performed in ſlower time.

SECT XI.

XLII. For the ſame reaſon, I am againſt the introduction of violins into churches. St. Thomas, in

in the place I before cited, objects to the admitting any kind of inſtruments in the church; and the reaſon he gives for the objection is, that the ſenſible delight which the inſtrumental muſic occaſions, hinders devotion. But it is not eaſy to reconcile this reaſoning, with what the ſaint ſays in another place, to wit, that the delight perceived by the air, excites weak ſpirits to devotion; and he, in the ſame place, approves of the uſe of muſical inſtruments in ſynagogues, becauſe the Jews being a hard and carnal people, there is a neceſſity for having recourſe to ſuch means, to provoke and ſtir them to piety. At leaſt then for people of this ſtamp, muſical inſtruments in churches would be very ſerviceable; and there being a great many of that diſpoſition who frequent churches; conſequently, the inſtruments would be found exceedingly uſeful. Beſides, I can't comprehend, how the ſenſible delight which inſtrumental muſic occaſions, ſhould induce to devotion, thoſe who on account of their hardneſs are little diſpoſed to it, and obſtruct it in thoſe, whoſe hearts are more inclined to divine worſhip.

XLIII. I acknowledge and confeſs, that it is much more eaſy for me to miſunderſtand St. Thomas, than for St. Thomas to advance any thing that is wrong: but after all, the univerſal practice of the whole church authorizes the uſe of inſtruments;

ſtruments; and the only difficulty or diſagreement, ſeems to reſt in the choice of them. I for my own part think, that violins are improper in that ſacred theatre; their ſhrill notes, although harmonious, are ſtill ſhrill, and excite a puerile vivacity in our ſpirits, very different from that decent attention, which is due to the Majeſty of myſteries; and eſpecially in theſe times, when thoſe who compoſe for violins, ſtudiouſly write their muſic ſo high, that he who is to execute it, can ſcarce forbear ſtriking the bridge of the inſtrument with his fingers.

XLIV. There are many other inſtruments much fitter to be uſed in churches than violins, their tones being much more reſpectful and grave; ſuch as the harp, the violincello, and the harpſichord; neither would the inconvenience of the want of trebles in the inſtruments be felt, by leaving out the violins, but rather, the muſic by the omiſſion would appear more majeſtic, which is what is moſt required in churches. The organ is an admirable inſtrument; or, to ſpeak more properly, many inſtruments comprized in one. It is true, that the organiſts, when they are ſo diſpoſed, can make a ſort of pipe and tabor of it; and it is alſo true, that this diſpoſition ſeems to come upon them pretty frequently.

SECT.

SECT. XII.

XLV. It would not be foreign, but rather very conformable to the object of our preſent criticiſm, to ſay ſomething in this place of the poetry, to which they give the epithet of divine, and which is compoſed to be ſung in churches. I may without temerity, venture to pronounce, that poetry in Spain, is in a worſe ſtate of perdition than muſic. The number of thoſe who write couplets is infinite, but none of them are poets. If I was to be aſked, which are the moſt difficult of all arts, I ſhould anſwer, medicine, poetry, and oratory: and if I was alſo to be aſk'd, which are the moſt eaſy; I ſhould anſwer, oratory, poetry, and medicine. There is no ſtudent, who, if he takes a fancy to it, does not write verſes. All the religious who mount the pulpit, and all the doctors who have ſtudied and practic'd phyſic, find their partizans: but where will you meet with the truly able phyſician, the compleat poet, or the perfect orator?

XLVI. Our moſt learned monk *Don John de Mabillon*, in his Treatiſe on Monaſtic Studies, ſays, that an excellent poet is a very rare treaſure; and I agree with him in ſentiment; for upon ſtrict examination, where, among the numbers of poetical

eſſays that are publiſhed, will you meet with any one, which (omitting many other requiſite qualities) is natural, ſublime, ſweet and pointed; and at the ſame time, ingenious, and clear; brilliant without affectation, ſonorous without turgidity, and harmonious without impropriety; that runs without hobbling, is delicate without affectation, forcible without harſhneſs, beautiful without paint or ſtrained colouring, noble without preſumption, and copious and comprehenſive without obſcurity? I will almoſt venture to pronounce, that he who would find a poet capable of writing verſes in this ſtile, ſhould ſeek for him in the regions inhabited by the Phœnix.

XLVII. In Spain however, poetry is in ſo deplorable a ſtate, that according to all appearances, it would be needleſs to ſearch for ſuch a one there. He who errs the leaſt, with the exception of here and there a particular one, ſeems as if he ſtudied how he ſhould commit faults. All his care appears to be placed, in ſwelling the verſe with irrational hyperboles, and pompous words; by which means, he produces a bloated, and confirmed dropſical poem, the ſight of which turns your ſtomach, and the peruſal fills you with melancholy. Thoſe eſſential qualities, propriety and nature, without which, neither poetry or proſe can ever be good, ſeem to have abandoned, and

become fugitives from our compoſitions. Our authors don't in their productions, appear to have hit upon that native ſplendor, which gives a brilliancy to their ideas, but rather, to have disfigured their beſt thoughts, with affected and bombaſt expreſſions; ſo that their original conceptions, may be compared to a fine woman that falls into indiſcreet hands to be dreſſed and ornamented, who, by the uſe of ridiculous paints and waſhes, deſtroys the native beauty of her features.

XLVIII. Thus much in general for modern Spaniſh poetry, but the worſt is, that you hear theſe ſort of compoſitions in the ſacred canticles; which are often ſo bad, that it would be better, inſtead of them, to ſing the couplets of blind men; becauſe theſe ſeem to have a tendency to promote devout affections, and their ruſtic ſimplicity, is in ſome degree the ſymptom of a good intention. All the gracefulneſs, or rather the attempt at diſplaying it, in the church canticles of theſe times, conſiſts in low equivocations, trivial metaphors, and puerile changes and rechanges. The worſt is, that they are entirely void of ſpirit, and not at all calculated to excite religious emotions, which are the principal, if not the only qualities required, and which ought to be ſought after in ſuch compoſitions. Don Antonio de Solis, was without doubt, a perſon of ſublime genius, and

one, who well underſtood the excellencies of poetry. He exceeded all others, and even ſometimes himſelf alſo, in painting the paſſions with ſuch apt, cloſe, and ſubtile expreſſions, that the deſcriptions of his pen ſeem to give you a clearer idea of, and make you better acquainted with them, than the knowledge which is gained by experience. But with all this, we in his ſmall ſacred tracts, perceive a ſtrange falling off; becauſe in them, we don't meet with that nobleneſs of thought, that delicacy of expreſſion, and that ſtirring of the paſſions, which is frequent and common in his other Lyric Poems. This did not happen, becauſe he wanted genius or talents to write ſacred compoſitions, for his Dirges upon the converſion of St. Franciſco de Borja, are ſome of the beſt things he ever exhibited, and perhaps the moſt ſublime, which to this Day have been compoſed in the Spaniſh language.

XLIX. I believe the badneſs of the compoſition of theſe couplets, called letrillas, which are generally written for feſtivals, has proceeded from Solis, and other poets of ability, having looked upon them as trifles; though in reality, no other compoſitions require ſo much ſtudy or ſerious attention. What ſubjects can be more noble than thoſe, where the eulogium of the ſaints and martyrs is ſung, and the excellency of the divine attributes

tributes and myſteries, is repreſented and celebrated? Theſe are the things, on which men of abilities, ſhould exert the whole power of their genius and talents. What employment can be more worthy a man of ſhining parts, than that of painting the beauty of virtue in ſuch amiable colours, as to make mankind in love with it; and repreſenting the deformity of vice, in ſo ſtriking a point of view, as to make the world abhor and deteſt it; and to contrive to praiſe God and his angels in ſuch a way, as would ſtimulate people to a deſire of imitation, and light up in their minds, the flame of adoration and worſhip? The grandeur of poetry, conſiſts in that active perſuaſion, which the poet inſtils into the ſoul, and with which he moves the heart, to follow the courſe he would wiſh it ſhould purſue. To write in this ſtile, ſays our Mabillon, ſpeaking of poetry, is not childrens play; much leſs then, ſhould ſacred poetry be only fit to amuſe infants; but after all, that which is ſung in our churches is nothing better.

L. Even thoſe, whoſe compoſitions are held in eſtimation, do no more, than provide and prepare the firſt light conceits that occur to them on the ſubject they are about to write upon; and although they have not in themſelves, union with reſpect to time, or tendency to any deſign whatever,

they diſtribute them in couplets, and notwithſtanding one leads to Flanders, and another to Morocco, they introduce them into the context; and provided each couplet ſays ſomething, for this is their explanation, although it is without life, ſpirit, or force; nay more, although it is without order, or direction to any determinate point or purpoſe, they ſay it is good compoſition; when, in truth, it no more deſerves the name of a compoſition, than a heap of ſtones that of an edifice, or the throwing or huddling together a number of colours, that of a picture.

LI. Keen ſentences, wit, airy pleaſantry, and lively conceits, are the preciſe ornaments of poetry; but they ſhould not be introduced into a poem, as if they had been ſtudiouſly ſought after; on the contrary, they ſhould ſeem as if they were always in waiting, and ready either for the poet to lay his hand on, or to obey his command; who ſhould purſue the rout he has chalked out for himſelf, and as he proceeds on, gather ſuch flowers as he meets on his way, and which grow naturally in the road through which he travels. This was the practice of Virgil, Ovid, Horace, and all the illuſtrious poets of antiquity. To make couplets, which are no more than an unformed maſs of little conceits, is a thing very eaſy, and at the ſame time very uſeleſs; becauſe there is not in them,

them, nor are they capable of containing, any of the ſublime excellencies of poetry. Why do I ſay ſublime excellencies? Not even the loweſt requiſites which are of its eſſence.

LII. But I have not even yet, mentioned the worſt part belonging to the divine canticles; which is, that if not all, a great many of them are compoſed in a burleſque ſtile. This is certainly done with great diſcretion: becauſe by this practice, the things appertaining to God, are converted to things of interlude. What idea, can a thouſand extravagancies put in the mouths of Gill and Paſquil, give of the ineffable myſtery of the incarnation? I ſhall leave it here, for the thoughts of ſuch an abſurdity puts me out of all patience; and he to whom ſuch an indignant abuſe, does not of itſelf appear diſguſting, I ſhall never be able to perſuade or convince, by any arguments whatever,

The following, which is extracted from the learned Letters of FEYYOO, is an Anſwer of the Author's to a Letter from a Friend on the Subject of Muſic. The Title he gives to the Letter, is,

THE WONDERFUL EFFECTS OF MUSIC, AND A COMPARISON OF THE ANTIENT WITH THE MODERN.

DEAR SIR,

I. BEFORE I ceaſed to be a young man, or indeed before I became one, the difficulty you now propound occurred to me, and is, in my humble opinion, a very grave one. It ſeems beyond a doubt, that the muſic of theſe times, does not

not produce the admirable effects which are related of the muſic of antiquity, and it ſeems alſo, as if this argued a greater degree of perfection in the antient than the modern. On the other hand, it appears difficult to explain, in what this ſuperior degree of perfection in the antient conſiſted; not ſo much for the reaſon you mention, as for another, which I ſhall point out in the ſequel.

II. We at preſent, know of no muſician whatever, who by the uſe of his art, can excite, or appeaſe a violent paſſion; but if various authors don't deceive us, the muſic of antiquity, produced both the one and the other of theſe effects. It is related of the two muſicians, Timotheus and Antigenides, that they could whenever they pleaſed, enrage Alexander to ſuch a pitch, as to make him ſeize on his arms, and fall into ſuch exceſſes of fury as terrified the by-ſtanders, and filled them with apprehenſions, that their lives were in danger. They tell us alſo of a trumpeter of Megara, named Herodotus, who perceiving the ſtrength and endeavours of the ſoldiers of Demetrius, inſufficient to move a warlike machine of enormous weight towards the walls of Argos, which they were then beſieging, he, by blowing two trumpets at a time, ſo inſpired them, that they found their vigour in a manner doubled, and themſelves enabled, to conduct the machine to the place they wiſhed.

wiſhed. They tell us likewiſe, of a remarkable flute-player, who was a Mileſian, that by touching in the phrygian mode enraged certain men, and by changing to the Doric from the phrygian, immediately calmed them again. Of the famous muſician Terpandro, they relate, that with his lyre, he ſtifled the flame of a ſedition among the Lacedemonians; and of Empedocles, that he alſo with his lyre, diſarmed a youth of his choler, who was on the point of committing a parricide. I ſhall omit many other caſes of this kind.

III. If it appears wonderful, that the antient muſic ſhould have inflamed, and calmed violent paſſions, it ſeems more ſo, that it ſhould have been made uſe of to cure various diſeaſes; and ſometimes, not only in here and there an individual, but even in a whole kingdom; for Plutarch ſays, that Thaletas, a native of Crete, with the energetic ſweetneſs of the lyre, freed the Lacedemonians from a plague; and it may be gathered from various authors, that antiently, they uſed muſic for the cure of fevers, the falling ſickneſs, the epilepſy, deafneſs, the ſciatica, and the bite of a viper.

IV. But to tell you the truth, I think theſe facts ſhould not paſs current without ſome critical examination. And firſt of all, none of the authors

thors who teſtify theſe extraordinary inſtances of the power of muſic over the paſſions, ſpeak of them, as tranſactions they had been eye-witneſſes of, or as things, that they knew from their own experience. All the facts cited, are much anterior to the authors from whom they are handed down to us; ſo that it ſeems very probable, the information came to them by tradition, or proceeded from ſome popular rumour unworthy of all credit. In matters that favour of the marvellous, both with reſpect to natural, and preter-natural things, nobody is ignorant, how many fables have been delivered down to us in the writings of the antients.

V. Secondly, in ſome of the caſes, there ſeems no occaſion to have recourſe to miracles for their explanation; I mean, there is no occaſion for attributing the events they tell of, to the wonderful powers of muſic. It required but little impulſe, to rouze the warlike ardour of Alexander; a ſpark only, will cauſe a vaſt conflagration, if it falls on a large quantity of gun-powder. Atheneus, who relates the ſtory of Herodotus, ſays, he was a man of gigantic ſize, and extraordinary robuſtneſs. He gives him near eight feet of ſtature, and ſays further, that he ate twenty pounds of meat a day, and drank wine in proportion. A man of ſuch robuſtneſs, could make uſe of much

much larger trumpets than thoſe of the common ſize, and might blow his breath through them with ſuch an impetus, as might ſtrikingly agitate the mind, and might alſo, add ſome temporary degrees of vigour to the body; and for accompliſhing this, it is not neceſſary to ſuppoſe any ſpecial dexterity in the management of the inſtruments, for ſtrength was more requiſite to produce ſuch an effect than addreſs; and whoever at this time, ſhould be equally robuſt with Herodotus, might be capable of doing the ſame thing. Neither perhaps in the other inſtances, I mean thoſe of irritating and mitigating rage, is there ſo much to be admired; for the influence of the muſic, might be applied to ſubjects, who are very eaſily moved; ſome ſuch as we frequently ſee, that like light weather-cocks, are wafted and turned round with the ſlighteſt breeze; and perhaps ſome modern muſician, might be able to work equal changes in the paſſions, on ſubjects who are equally ſuſceptible.

VI. Thirdly, the tales of cures which are pretended to have been performed by the means, or power of muſic, I conſider as fabulous relations; at leaſt, I have no doubt of the major part of them being ſuch. Who, I won't ſay can believe, but if he has any underſtanding, can endure to hear the chimera, that the ſound of a lyre, baniſhed

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the plague from a whole kingdom? Such tales as theſe, were written by the authors of laſt year, in order that the fools of this might believe them.

VII. With reſpect to the curing ſome particular diſeaſes, it may be proper to allow to muſic, an equal degree of credit, to that given to many other remedies, ſo much puffed, and blazoned in books, which although in reality they ſeldom do any good, ſtill preſerve their reputation; not ſo much on account of the few times they have proved ſerviceable, as from the ſick perſon's having owed his recovery to the aſſiſtance of Nature; when at the ſame time, people vainly and miſtakenly have attributed it to the application of the choſen remedy. In this manner, and with theſe explanations and reflections, we ſhould underſtand muſic as a ſpecific, for this or that diſeaſe, for if we conſider it, as having influence to cheer the mind, there is no doubt, that it may contribute ſomewhat to the relief of ſuch ſick people, as are very fond of it; in the ſame manner, as any other thing would do, which gave them ſpecial pleaſure or delight. I don't however, find any reaſon to prefer the antient muſic to the modern, as beſt ſuited to produce either the one or the other of theſe effects; for we have ſeen caſes, in which we have experienced this laſt, to have been very beneficial to ſick people; and probably the antients never

never knew one, in which the curative excellence of muſic ſhone forth with more luſtre, than it did in an inſtance, which happened in the preſent century, and which is related in the hiſtory of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, in the year 1707, which I ſhall here tranſcribe, in nearly the words of its illuſtrious author.

VIII. A famous muſician and great compoſer, was attacked with a fever, which continued augmenting, till on the ſeventh day, it threw him into a violent delirium, which continued on him with little or no intermiſſion, accompanied with ſhrieks, lamentations, terrors, and perpetual watching. On the third day, one of thoſe natural inſtincts, which are ſaid to cauſe ſick brutes to ſeek ſuch herbs as are beneficial for them, induced him to requeſt ſome muſic for his entertainment. They ſung to him, properly accompanied with inſtruments, ſome of the compoſitions of Monſ. Bernier, a celebrated French muſician: as ſoon as the harmony began, his countenance appeared ſerene, his eyes looked more tranquil, the convulſions ceaſed intirely, and he ſhed tears of pleaſure; the fever left him while the muſic continued, but when that ceaſed, the fever and the ſymptoms returned again. Upon this happy and unexpected ſucceſs, they repeated the muſic again and again, and always obtained a ſuſpenſion of the fever and

the ſymptoms, while the muſic laſted. A relation of his, uſed ſome nights to ſit up with him, who he intreated to ſing and dance to him, and always found great relief from it; and it ſometimes happened, that for want of other muſic, they entertained him with common nurſes ſongs, and ſuch as are uſed to divert children, and from which he found great benefit. In fine, ten days muſic, without any other medicinal aſſiſtance than one bleeding in the ankle, which was the ſecond that had been preſcribed for him, perfectly cured him.

IX. There may be ſome doubt, whether the total cure of this man was owing to muſic; and I muſt confeſs, there is no certainty that it was. He might owe his recovery to the ſecond bleeding; he might be indebted to Nature for it. The tranſitory relief which he received from the melody, had no more fixed connection with the ſubſtantial part of the cure, than thoſe intervals of amendment have, which in many diſeaſes, Nature affords of herſelf. The ſuſpenſion of the ſymptoms, frequently proceeds from principles, which have not ſufficient influence to entirely extirpate the malady. The knowing, that in general, it can't be inferred, that the thing is able to perform the whole, which only executes a part, makes ſuch a connection as we have mentioned before doubtful. But even if this was admitted, there

ſtill

ſtill exiſts in the caſe related, an undubitable and marvellous effect of muſic; and perhaps, the quick ſuſpenſion of the fever and the ſymptoms, every time they repeated the muſic, is a more ſtriking inſtance of its immediate and wonderful power, than the perfecting a total cure would have been. I ſay, this appears more amazing to me, than if the remedy had worked an intire cure, by contributing to the recovery of the ſick perſon, by ſlow degrees, and by little and little, and which could not have been compleated, but in the courſe of a conſiderable number of days.

X. It ſeems to me, that thoſe who are of opinion the modern muſic is brought to greater perfection than ever the antient was, may avail themſelves of this inſtance very advantageouſly; firſt of all, becauſe there can't be produced in favour of antient muſic, another of the ſame character; and ſecondly, becauſe it has appeared in the caſe of our ſick perſon, that he not only received relief from concertos of excellence, but even from the moſt trifling and imperfect ſongs; whereas the cures attributed to antient muſic, are alledged to have been effected by that of the firſt claſs.

XI. However, let this proof, whoſe force or debility I ſhall not dwell upon at preſent, amount to what it will; that which you urge in favour

of modern muſic, does not appear to me of any weight or efficacy. You ſay, that at preſent this art is much more cultivated, and by men of more induſtry and better informed, than the unlearned and barbarous antients of yore, who flouriſhed in the times when theſe extraordinary effects of muſic are related to have been experienced. From this ſuppoſition it ſhould follow, that the modern muſic is much more perfect than ever the antient was. But I look both upon the opinion, that it is more cultivated at preſent than it was formerly; and likewiſe, that it is more perfect now than it was then, not only as uncertain, but even entirely falſe and ill grounded.

XII. Two facts of public notoriety, which are related by Polybius, are ſufficient to induce a belief, that muſic was as much, or more cultivated among the antients, than it is in our times. The firſt is, that both the Cretans, and Lacedemonians, did not make uſe of the horrible clang of trumpets, even in battles, but of the melody of flutes. The ſecond is, that the Arcadians, from the foundation of their republic, cauſed it to be obſerved as an inviolable law, that all their ſons, from their infancy till they attained the age of thirty-one years, ſhould apply themſelves to muſic. In what kingdom in the world, is there at

this time, ſo great and ſo general an application to this art?

XIII. The vaſt inferiority of the antients, compared to the moderns, with reſpect to induſtry and ability, is alſo a voluntary ſuppoſition. If this was ſo, it ought not only to be inferred, that they were deficient in the ſcience of muſic, but in all the other arts alſo; but this is ſo far from being the caſe, that it is known to a certainty, there were many men among them, who arrived to the higheſt pitch of excellence, both as painters, ſtatuaries, and poets, and who were ſuch, as can hardly be equalled for eminence by any modern whatever. Of the two laſt of theſe arts, there are ſtill monuments ſubſiſting, which are invincible proofs, of their great talents for, and maſterly performances in both of them; and their ſkill in the firſt, may be reaſonably inferred, from their ability in the other two; for as Vincencio Carducho, in his *Dialogues on Painting*, juſtly reaſons, if the works of the painters had been defective in any of the material requiſites, as ſome have conjectured, the ſkill of the ſtatuaries, and the perfection of the ſtatues, would glaringly have diſplayed the faults of the painters; and would conſequently, have diſcredited them as artiſts; but this was not the caſe, for it is eſtabliſhed

by the authority of hiſtory, that their works were exceedingly prized.

XIV. This proof then, falls to the ground as ill founded; but the partizans of modern muſic, urge another that is tolerably ſpecious; which is, that the antient was very limited, both in the modulation and harmonies of it. As to what regards the modulation, we ſhould obſerve, that before the time of the famous muſician Timotheus, who flouriſhed in the reign of Philip of Macedon, the lyre had no more than ſeven ſtrings, which expreſſed or marked, ſeven tones or points only; becauſe to the antient lyre, there were no frets, nor any ſubſtitute for them, wherewith they could make on the ſame ſtring, any progreſſion of diſtinct ſounds. Timotheus added two ſtrings to it, which made it an inſtrument of nine, others maintain it had nine before, and that he added two to them, and made it one of eleven. But admitting this laſt to be the fact, it then remained an inſtrument, of very ſmall compaſs, compared to modern inſtruments. The chant could not exceed the bounds of the inſtrument, and by all this we may perceive, the little variety and extenſion of antient modulation.

XV. With reſpect to harmony and concordances, authors, who have examined the thing with

with much attention, aſſure us, the antients knew no other than the third, the octave, and the double octave; adding, that they were intirely ignorant of the concerto, or muſic of different tones; and therefore all their accompanyments, either of an inſtrument with the voice, or of one voice, or one inſtrument with another, were conſtantly in uniſon. It may be aſked now, what excellencies could be contained in a muſic, which was ſo limited and ſo ſimple? Or what compariſon can you imagine there is, between that and ours, either to delight the ear, or give ſatisfaction to the underſtanding?

XVI. I have acknowledged, that this objection is ſpecious, but deny that it is concluſive. In the firſt place, the parts of Plutarch's works, as well as thoſe of other authors, from whence they pretend to have collected this ſyſtem of antient muſic, are ſo complicated and obſcure, that nothing can with certainty be determined on the credit of them; hence it comes to paſs, that writers, in their reaſonings and diſquiſitions on this ſubject, are much divided in their opinions.

XVII. In the ſecond place, I do not aſſent, that muſic, on account of its being ſomewhat the more ſimple, is the leſs delicious or pathetic. I acknowledge, that the variety in that, as in all

other things, contributes to the delight of it; but then the variety, ought to be confined within certain limits, for that, like every other thing, has two vicious extremes, the one of which is incurred by exceſs, the other by deficiency. If the variety is very ſmall, you ſoon grow tired of it, and it ſeems rather ſurfeiting. If it is exceſſive, the ſoul is diſturbed and bewildered by the many parts of the object, and by being toſſed and hurried from one to the other, is not allowed, nor has it leiſure, for that ecſtatic ſuſpenſion, in which the moſt intenſe part of the pleaſure conſiſts. I have ſeen an infinite number of people, much more regaled by hearing a good voice, accompanied by a guitar juſt ſcraped, than by hearing a concert of many voices and inſtruments; and I have ſometimes ſeen a perſon of very good talents, ſhed tears of delight and tenderneſs, on hearing a guitar played pointedly, and with expreſſion; which never would have happened to him, by hearing a ſymphony of various inſtruments, although he ſhould have attended ſuch performances ever ſo often. The muſicians of theſe times, boaſt exceedingly of the improvements they have made in their profeſſion, and of having, from an inſipid, heavy, coarſe harmony, advanced to a ſweet, airy, and delicate muſic; and many of them, have been brought to conjecture, that the practice of this faculty in the preſent age, has been

carried

carried to as high a degree of perfection, as it is capable of attaining. In my Diſcourſe on Muſic in the firſt volume of the Theatrico Critico, I made a compariſon between antient and modern muſic; but what ſeems of the moſt importance to examine here is, whether the muſic of the laſt and preſent century, is ſo much improved, as to intitle it to be conſidered as greatly ſuperior to that which was practiced by the Greeks twenty centuries back. The author of the Dialogues of Theagenes and Calimacus, printed at Paris in 1725, treats this point moſt learnedly; and affirms, that the antient muſicians excelled the modern, in expreſſion, delicacy, and variety; and alſo in the fineneſs of their execution; and our great expoſitor of the ſcripture father Don Auguſt in Calmet, is of the ſame opinion; as he is likewiſe, with regard to the antient muſic being more excellent than the modern taken in general. In the firſt volume of his work, intitled *Diſſertationes Biblicas*, page 403, where he approves and confirms my ſentiment and taſte with reſpect to muſic, as expreſſed in my before-mentioned diſcourſe, he ſpeaks thus: Many look upon the ſimplicity of the antient muſic, as rudeneſs and imperfection, but I conſider it as an argument of its excellence; for an art is reputed by ſo much the more perfect, by ſo much the nearer it approaches to Nature; and who can deny, but ſimple muſic is the moſt natural, and beſt ſuited, to imitate,

imitate the voice and paſſions of man? It riſes, or glides eaſier from the interior part of the breaſt, and has a more certain effect, to chear the heart, and ſtir the affections; beſides, the opinion which is generally entertained of the ſimplicity of antient muſic, is erroneous. It is true, that it was exceedingly ſimple, but notwithſtanding that, it was very copious alſo; for the antients had many inſtruments, which we are ſtrangers to; and on the other hand, their muſic was not wanting, in concord and harmony. To this we may add, that it had the advantage of ours in another reſpect, for it was a part of the excellence of the antient muſic, that the ſound of the inſtruments, did not confound or interrupt the words of the ſong, but rather enforced or gave energy to them; ſo that at the ſame time the ear was delighted with the ſweetneſs of the voice, the mind, taſted the elegance and nervous expreſſion of the verſe. We ought not therefore to wonder, at the prodigious effects, which we are told were produced by the muſic of the antients; becauſe it poſſeſſed, joined together and united, all thoſe excellencies, which are contained in ours, only ſingle or divided. Calmet alſo, in his Dictionario Biblico, gives us a ſheet of engraving, containing twenty different inſtruments which were in uſe among the Hebrews; and it is very probable, that among the Greeks, who were a more poliſhed people, and greater lovers

of

of muſic than the others, they had many more; neither have we any great reaſon to value ourſelves, upon our invention in contriving muſical inſtruments being greater or better than that of the antients; for there has never yet appeared among us, an hydraulic organ, which was in uſe among the antients, and of which Cteſibius, a mathematician of Alexandria, was ſuppoſed to be the author, a hundred years prior to the chriſtian æra; and Voſſius ſays, they have often tried and laboured ſince, but without effect, to reſtore it. It is alſo proper to obſerve, that ſome inſtruments, which we reckon the invention of later ages, were in uſe among the antients; ſuch as the violincello, and violin; whoſe antiquity, the author of the Dialogue of Theagenes and Calimacus, proves, by a medal which is deſcribed by Vignete, and a ſtatue of Orpheus, which is at Rome.

XVIII. In the third place, I do not aſſent, that the antient muſic was ſo ſimple as it is pretended to have been; but am rather inclined to think, that in the eſſential, it was more complicate than the modern. My reaſon for this opinion is, that over and above the Diatonic and Chromatic ſpecies which is contained in our muſic, and which is common to both, they, in the diviſion of the octave, made uſe of the Enharmonic alſo, which our muſic does not poſſeſs or partake of. The Enhar-

Enharmonic, conſiſts in the introduction of the tenths, which are intervals of no more than the quarter part of a tone, or of two comas, and the quarter part of another. It is true, that the moderns give the name of tenth to the minor ſemitone; but in the muſic of antiquity, tenths had the ſignification which I have here aſſigned to them.

XIX. This, as I ſaid before, creates a very eſſential variety in a muſic, and different from that, which conſiſts purely in running the compoſition, through two, three, or more octaves; and which may be called accidentals, becauſe the points of one octave, are little more than a mere repetition of the correſpondent ones of another; and I not only judge this variety of the antient muſic eſſential in itſelf, but think it is likewiſe ſo, with reſpect to the effects of it; for it muſt neceſſarily produce a greater, and very probably, a much more lively variation of the affections. So that by mixing the Harmonic ſpecies with the other two, the ſame advantages will accrue, as aroſe by mixing the Diatonic with the Chromatic; and the muſic in conſequence of doing it, will be as much benefited, as it was by joining thoſe two together, which made it infinitely preferable, to what it was when they uſed each ſingly, and by itſelf.

I have

I have now ſtated to you the arguments and reaſonings on both ſides of the queſtion, relating to the competition between antient and modern muſic; and methinks I already hear you ſay, to which ſhall we give the preference? To this I ſhall only anſwer, that I have ſent you all the pleadings and documents in the cauſe, and muſt beg you to pronounce the ſentence, for I muſt confeſs for my own part, that I am undecided.

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ERRATA FOR THE SECOND BOOK.

Page 2, line *ult.* *for* turpid, *read* vile
13, 13, *for* brought forth, *read* produced
21, 19, *for* ſtimulents, *read* ſtimulants
31, 21, *for* Themiris, *read* Thomyris
43, 18, *for* not aſſiſt one, *read* not aſſiſt me
48, 19, *for* with leſs preciſion, *read* no leſs preciſion
61, 9, *for* as they ſeat of the ſoul, *read* the ſeat of the ſoul
66, 20, *for* than man, *read* that man
68, 12, *for* with all this argument, *read* with all this the argument
71, 2, *for* Auſtrians, *read* Aſturians
73, 4, *for* Bœticaſus, *read* Bœtica Sus
125, 14, *for* adapted, *read* adopted, and the ſame in line 24 of the ſame page
134, 6, *for* Gæcia, *read* Græcia
174, 16, *for* reflections, *read* reſtrictions
176, 3, *for* who, *read* whom
183, 16, *for* Auguſt, *read* Auguſtin.